

93

# LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



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WASHINGTON, D. C.

# Religious Liberty Association

## DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

1. We believe in God, in the Bible as the word of God, and in the separation of church and state as taught by Jesus Christ.
2. We believe that the ten commandments are the law of God, and that they comprehend man's whole duty to God and man.
3. We believe that the religion of Jesus Christ is founded in the law of love of God, and needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love cannot be forced.
4. We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights and to rule in civil things, and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.
5. We believe it is the right, and should be the privilege, of every individual to worship or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, provided that in the exercise of this right he respects the equal rights of others.
6. We believe that all religious legislation tends to unite church and state, is subversive of human rights, persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of both church and state.
7. We believe, therefore, that it is not within the province of civil government to legislate on religious questions.
8. We believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation, and oppose all movements tending to unite church and state, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty.
9. We believe in the inalienable and constitutional right of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and petition.
10. We also believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.

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# LIBERTY

## A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

EDITOR, CHARLES S. LONGACRE

OFFICE EDITOR, CHARLES M. SNOW

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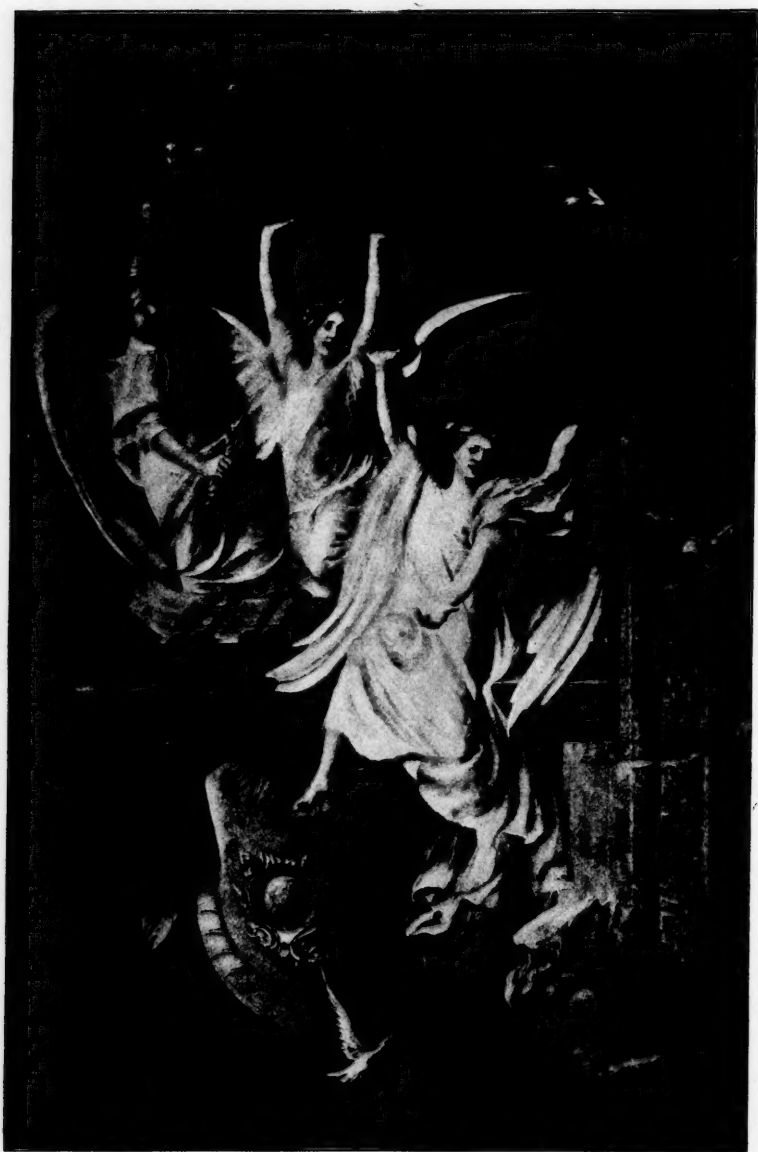
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HEAVEN REJOICED WHEN LIBERTY BELL SPOKE FREEDOM TO THE PEOPLE  
OF AMERICA IN MATTERS OF FAITH AND WORSHIP

# LIBERTY

*"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto  
all the inhabitants thereof." Lev. 25: 10.*

VOL. IX

THIRD QUARTER, 1914

No. 3

## Religious Proclamations by the Nation's Executive

A Hitherto Unpublished Essay by James Madison,  
Fourth President of the United States<sup>1</sup>

RELIGIOUS proclamations by the executive recommending thanksgivings and fasts, are shoots from the same root with the legislative acts reviewed.

Although recommendations only, they imply a religious agency, making no part of the trust delegated to political rulers.

The objections to them are:—

1. That governments ought not to interpose in relation to those subject to their authority, but in cases where they can do it with effect. An *advisory* government is a contradiction in terms.

2. The members of a government, as such, can in no sense be regarded as possessing an advisory trust from their constituents in their religious capacities. They cannot form an ecclesiastical assembly, convocation, council, or synod, and as such issue decrees or injunctions addressed to the faith or the consciences of the people. In their individual capacities, as distinct from their official station, they might unite in recommendations of any sort whatever, in the same manner as any other individuals might do. But then their recommendations ought to express the true character from which they emanate.

3. They seem to imply and certainly

nourish the erroneous idea of a *national* religion. This idea just as it related to the Jewish nation under a theocracy, having been improperly adopted by so many nations which have embraced Christianity, is too apt to lurk in the bosoms even of Americans, who in general are aware of the distinction between religious and political societies. The idea also of a union of all who form one nation under one government in acts of devotion to the God of all, is an imposing idea. But reason and the principles of the Christian religion require that if all the individuals composing a nation were of the same precise creed and wished to unite in a universal act of religion at the same time, the union ought to be effected through the intervention of their religious, not of their political representatives. In a nation composed of various sects, some alienated widely from others, and where no agreement could take place through the former, the interposition of the latter is doubly wrong.

4. The tendency of the practice is to narrow the recommendation to the standard of the predominant sect. The first proclamation of General Washington, dated Jan. 1, 1795, recommending a day of thanksgiving, embraced all who be-

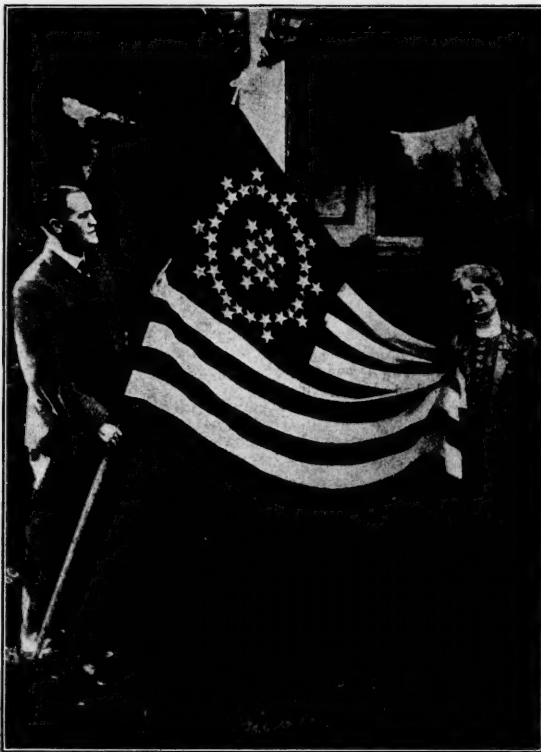
<sup>1</sup> Second installment of essay published in previous issue of LIBERTY.

lieved in a supreme Ruler of the universe. That of Mr. Adams called for a *Christian* worship. Many private letters reproached the proclamation issued by J. M. for using the general terms used in that of President Washington; and some of them for not inserting terms particularly according with the faith of certain Christian sects. The practice, if not strictly guarded, naturally terminates in a conformity to the creed of the majority, and of a single sect, if amounting to majority.

5. The last and not the least objection is the liability of the practice to a subser-viency to political views, to the scandal of religion, as well as the increase of party animosities. Candid or incautious politicians will not always disown such views. In truth, it is difficult to frame such a religious proclamation generally suggested by a political state of things, without referring to them in terms having some bearing on party questions. The proclamation of President Washington, which was issued just after the suppression of the insurrection in Pennsylvania, and at a time when the public mind was divided on several topics, was so construed by many. Of this the Secretary of State himself, E. Randolph, seems to have had an anticipation.

The original draft of that instrument, filed in the Department of State, is in the handwriting of Mr. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury. It appears that several slight alterations only had been made at the suggestion of the Secretary of State; and in a marginal note in his hand, it is remarked that, "in short, this proclamation ought to savor as much as possible of religion; and not too much

of having a political object." In a sub-joined note in the hand of Mr. Hamilton this remark is answered by the counter remark that "a proclamation by a government, which is a national act, naturally embraces objects which are polit-



O, LONG MAY IT WAVE O'ER THE LAND OF THE FREE  
AND THE HOME OF THE BRAVE

ical;" so *naturally* is the idea of policy associated with religion, whatever be the mode or the occasion, when a function of the latter is assumed by those in power.

During the administration of Mr. Jefferson no religious proclamation was issued. It being understood that his successor was disinclined to such interpositions of the executive, and by some supposed, moreover, that they might originate with more propriety with the legislative body, a resolution was passed

requesting him to issue such a proclamation.

It was thought not proper to refuse a compliance altogether; but a form and language were employed which were meant to deaden as much as possible any claim of political right to enjoin religious

observances by resting these expressly on the voluntary compliance of individuals, and even by limiting the recommendation to such as wished a simultaneous as well as voluntary performance of a religious act on the occasion.—*Harper's Magazine*, March, 1914.

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## True Principles of the Reformation

W. F. MARTIN

In the year 1520, Luther had a famous controversy with Eck. The latter appealed to Rome. Luther wrote a pamphlet which was distributed throughout the empire. In this pamphlet is found the following:—

"By what right, I demand, has the Pope given us laws? Who gave him the power to bring into bondage the freedom we receive in baptism? . . . I assert that neither Pope nor bishop nor any human being has the right to bind a single syllable upon any Christian man, except with his own consent; and whatever is done otherwise is tyrannically done."

It is easy to see from this that the great Reformer was opposed to coercion in matters of faith. Where did Luther get this wisdom? He must have secured it from Him who said, "If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not."

Not long after this, in fact soon after Luther's return from the Wartburg, he published another pamphlet, entitled "The Secular Power and How Far Obedience Is Due to It," in which he said: "Its duty is to secure external peace and order, and to protect men—their persons and property—against ill doers. . . . But God cannot and will not allow any one but himself to rule the soul. Whenever, therefore, the temporal power presumes to legislate for the soul, it encroaches. No one can or shall force another to believe." "God's word must here fight. Heresy is something spiritual, that cannot be hewn with steel or

burned with fire." And again: "Body, gold, and goods God has given over to the emperor; the heart he has reserved to himself. The church is to be governed with the spoken sword, the rod of the mouth, which alone touches the conscience. The civil authority has nothing else than the sword of the fist and a rod of wood." And as their means are different, so are their ends. "The end and aim of the church is the peace of eternity; that of the state is peace on earth."

In this, the two spheres of church and state are clearly set forth,—one, the peace of eternity; the other, peace on earth. One is to accomplish its work by the sword of steel, the other by the sword of the Spirit. Again, it will be noticed that the great Reformer recognized the fact that God has reserved the heart for himself. All this goes to show that Luther, in his battle with Rome, denied the right of the civil power to prescribe forms or dogmas of religion. Thus we have at first hand the ideas and principles of the prime mover of the Reformation.

In the year 1530, the emperor Charles came to Innsbruck and convened the Diet of Augsburg. To this came the Protestant princes with a great document written by Melancthon, which embodied the beliefs and doctrines that were accepted and taught by the Reformers. Pertinent to the purpose of this article, the following will be found in the Augsburg Confession:—

"We are compelled, therefore, for the

satisfaction of men's consciences, to set forth the distinction between ecclesiastical power and the power of the sword. We have taught, no doubt, that both of them, because of God's commandment, are dutifully to be revered and honored as God's greatest blessings on this earth. But our view as to the distinction is this: The power of the keys, or the power of bishops, is, according to the gospel, of remitting and retaining sins and of administering the sacraments. . . . It is exercised only by teaching or preaching the word and administering the sacraments to individuals or to a number, as the case may call for. . . . The administration of civil affairs has to deal with other matters than the gospel deals with. The magistrate does not defend men's minds, but their bodies, and other corporal things, against manifest injuries; and he coerces men by the sword and by corporal pains, in order to uphold civil justice and peace. Wherefore the ecclesiastical has its own command to preach the gospel and to administer the sacraments. Let it not intrude into the office of another than itself."

Surely no one will claim from these expressions that it is a part of Protestantism to enforce religious dogmas upon the citizens of any commonwealth. True Protestantism still maintains that same position. Still, in spite of all this, true religious liberty had a hard struggle against tyranny. In course of time, this struggle was transferred to the shores of the New World. In the memorable year 1776, a memorial on religious liberty, or

soul freedom, or, in other words, true Protestantism, was sent by the Hanover Presbytery to the General Assembly of Virginia. We have space in this article for only a very small part of this excellent memorial. It is as follows:—

"In this enlightened age, and in a land where all of every denomination are



Patrick Henry reaching the climax of his eloquence: "Give me liberty, or give me death." It brought 10,000 patriots into the field for freedom's cause.

united in most strenuous efforts to be free, we hope and expect our representatives will cheerfully concur in removing every species of religious as well as civil bondage. . . . We beg leave further to represent that religious establishments are highly injurious to the temporal interests of any community. Without insisting upon the ambition and arbitrary practices of those who are favored by government, or the intriguing, seditious spirit which is commonly excited by this as well as by every other kind of op-



pression, such establishments greatly retard population, and, consequently, the progress of arts, sciences, and manufactures.

Witness the rapid growth and improvements of the northern provinces compared with this. No one can deny that the more early settlement and the many superior advantages of our country would have invited multitudes of artificers, mechanics, and all other useful members of society to fix their habitation among us, who have either remained in the place of their nativity, or preferred worse civil government and a more barren soil where they might enjoy the rights of conscience more fully than they had a prospect of doing in this; from which we infer that Virginia might now have been the capital of America and a match for the British arms, without depending upon either for the necessities of war, had it not been prevented by her religious establishment."

The famous bill of rights was adopted by the Virginia Convention this same year. Article XVI of that document declares: "That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity toward each other."

This is an open, square declaration against all religious oppression and in favor of equal rights for all of every creed and of no creed. Commenting on Article XVI of the Virginia Bill of Rights, William Wirt Henry says:—

"At the date of the Virginia Bill of Rights, although more than one sect had claimed religious freedom, and an absolute divorce of church and state, no civil government had ever allowed the claim. Virginia led the way in incorporating into the very foundation of her government the principle upon which religious liberty is based, and in doing so, com-

pleted the great Reformation commenced in the sixteenth century."

These statements show that the basic principles of the Reformation are the total separation of church and state, and the granting of religious liberty to all men.

*College Place, Wash.*

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### Is This Truly a Free Country?

"THIS country stands for impartial justice to all its citizens, regardless of race, creed, or color." But does it?—In theory, yes; in practice, no. We have not yet consistently carried out to its logical consequences this principle, according to which the state has to do with its citizens purely as citizens, and consequently with a church merely as an association of citizens and not as a church.

The average American statesman is fully persuaded that this has been done. He is convinced that in this country church and state are so completely separated as utterly to preclude any possibility of a conflict between the civil and ecclesiastical powers. Such a thing might happen in France or in Portugal; but in this country never. Having been written into the Constitution, it is finally and definitely settled for all time that church and state must be separate. And apprehension of trouble on that score is therefore too remote to be seriously considered.

The constant harping of some people on this one string is just a little too tiresome. Why can they not be satisfied to look up at the Constitution and sing, "My country, 'tis of thee"? This, I think, fairly represents the attitude on this question of most of our leading men in public life. Instead of frankly recognizing the extreme difficulty, in a world composed of all peoples, of church and state mutually apportioning in peace the things which belong to God and the things which belong to Cæsar; instead of striving, by a watchful and consistent application of this divinely estab-

lished principle, which is indeed written into our Constitution, to preserve the rights and liberties of its citizens, both in their relation to the state and their relation to the church, our statesmen

often act as if existing institutions might be best preserved by simply shouting. "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!"—*Rev. D. H. Steffens, in the Christian Herald, July 2, 1913.*

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## Religion and the State

A. G. DANIELLS

THE question of the relationship between church and state, between religion and civil government, does not belong alone to past ages. It is a living issue today, and it will continue to be such while the church and civil government exist.

The church and the state are institutions ordained of God for the benefit of man. But, like other wise provisions for his good, they may be perverted; they may be turned from their true purpose, and be used to injure man. The good or the harm that the church and the state may do to those connected with them, depends very much upon the relation they sustain to each other; and the relation they sustain depends upon the views of this relationship held by those intrusted with the management of the two institutions. In the maintenance of their proper relations are bound up the rights and liberties of the people. For this reason, if for no other, the relation between civil government and religion should receive the most careful study by all who prize liberty, either civil or religious.

There has been a great deal of misapprehension as to the true relationship of the church to the state, and as a result fearful injustice has been done to large numbers of the human family. Unhappily we are not yet beyond the possibility of misapprehension, and so are not beyond the range of injustice.

Among heathen nations, civil government and religion were united, and the government ruled religion. This was especially true of the Roman Empire.

That government declared: "No man shall have for himself particular gods of his own; no man shall worship by himself any new or foreign gods, unless they are recognized by the public laws."—*Cicero, quoted in Neander's "History of the Christian Religion and Church," sec. 1, div. 3, par. 2.*

Thus the state assumed the right to rule in all matters of religion. The emperor ruled the state, and the state ruled religion. The gods were national, the religion was national, and the priests were but the servants of the state. The state and the religion were inseparable. To be indifferent to the religion was to show disrespect to the state. To refuse obedience to the religion was to rebel against the state. To introduce a new religion was "high treason," and the penalty for treason was death.

During the reign of the Cæsars, Christ, the founder of Christianity, appeared among men. He revealed to the world a God unknown and unacknowledged by Rome. He taught a "new religion,"—new to the Romans,—and denied that Cæsar had the right to interfere with the religion of his subjects. This "new religion" was embraced and its Founder worshiped by thousands of Roman citizens.

For thus changing their religion, these hitherto loyal citizens were looked upon by the state as rebels and traitors, notwithstanding they still paid tribute to Cæsar, and rendered cheerful obedience to every requirement of the government, except in the matter of religion. They were arraigned before the authorities,

accused, found guilty, and ordered to renounce their religion, or suffer the penalties of the laws. The former they could not conscientiously do, so they submitted to the latter.

Thus began the pagan persecutions, accounts of which fill us with shame for

All this, and much more, was done by the state, because it claimed the right to control the religion of its citizens, and because these citizens could not believe and obey the religion of the state.

It is now declared that the state did these citizens great injustice by thus per-

secuting them. But the state did not view it in that light. The right to control the religion of its subjects was a fundamental principle of the government. In order to control the religion, the state must of necessity declare what religion must be observed, and enact laws against all other religions. And to give the laws force, it must punish those who violate the laws. The enforcement of just penalties for the violation of just laws is not persecution. Rome claimed that her laws were for the preservation of the state, hence were just. She denied the charge of persecution, and disclaimed any desire to persecute any one. And this is the argument of



*Harris and Ewing, Washington, D. C.*

MINISTERS OF ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, AND CHILI, THE MEDIATORS  
IN THE AMERICAN-MEXICAN IMBROGLIO

humanity. The gray-haired sire, the delicate maiden, and the innocent youth were dragged to the amphitheater, subjected to the most shocking barbarities, and finally, for the sport of the exulting populace, thrown alive to wild beasts in the arena. Thousands more were cruelly persecuted and put to death in various ways.

all church-and-state governments.

But the Christians regarded the whole thing as persecution. They denied the right of the state to interfere with their religion. They claimed the rights of conscience. The contest was long and bitter, but victory, at the cost of millions of lives, came at last. That victory brought to the church religion freedom.

## "The American System of Government as Conceived by Its Founders"

S. B. HORTON

THE American system of government stands for the absolute separation of church and state. In this particular it differs materially from those nations of Europe which had a semblance of divorcement between church and state following the great Reformation. The principles of the Protestant Reformation could not well be carried to their consummation in the Old World. The nations of that hemisphere had been so impregnated with the false theory of human government that virgin soil became an absolute necessity if these principles were to fructify into those realities designed to be a blessing to mankind.

Pago-Roman law said: "Worship the gods in all respects according to the laws of your country, and compel others to do the same. But hate and punish those who would introduce anything whatever into our customs in this particular."—*Neander's "Church History," Vol. I, sec. 1, part 1, div. 3, par. 2.*

Persecution for dissenters, of course, followed in the wake of such legislation, for, continuing, the law said: "Whoever introduces new religions, the tendency and character of which are unknown, whereby the minds of men may be disturbed, shall, if belonging to the higher rank, be banished; if the lower, punished with death."—*Id.*

Of all the notable colonial characters, Roger Williams stands out as a beacon light. Having been trained in the principles of religious liberty at the feet of Coke, the great English barrister, and enjoying a religious experience, he was prepared to serve his fellows to advantage. When Roger Williams came to America, he found a situation corresponding in kind to that from which the pilgrims had very recently emigrated.

The settlers had arranged a form of

civil government the effect of which was to unite the church with the state, and he came in direct conflict with the very people who should have hailed him as a safe guide and deliverer. His aversion to that condition caused him to be haled before courts. "The Puritan writers have uniformly sustained the Boston court, and stigmatized Williams for being contentious and extreme in his opinions, and for creating dissension, without adequate cause, among the brethren at Boston. But it will be remembered that much of the religious contention of that age concerned itself about ceremonies. They were objected to by the Non-conformists within the church because they had a tendency to lessen the chasm between Protestantism and Romanism, and they were still more strenuously opposed by the Separatists or Nonconformists without the church because their retention was regarded as tending to sanction and perpetuate the corruptions with which they had been associated. To Williams it seemed absurd and a compromise of principle for the New England brethren to retain connection with the Church of England, especially in view of the fact that they had quitted England because of their refusal to conform to the ceremonies of that church.

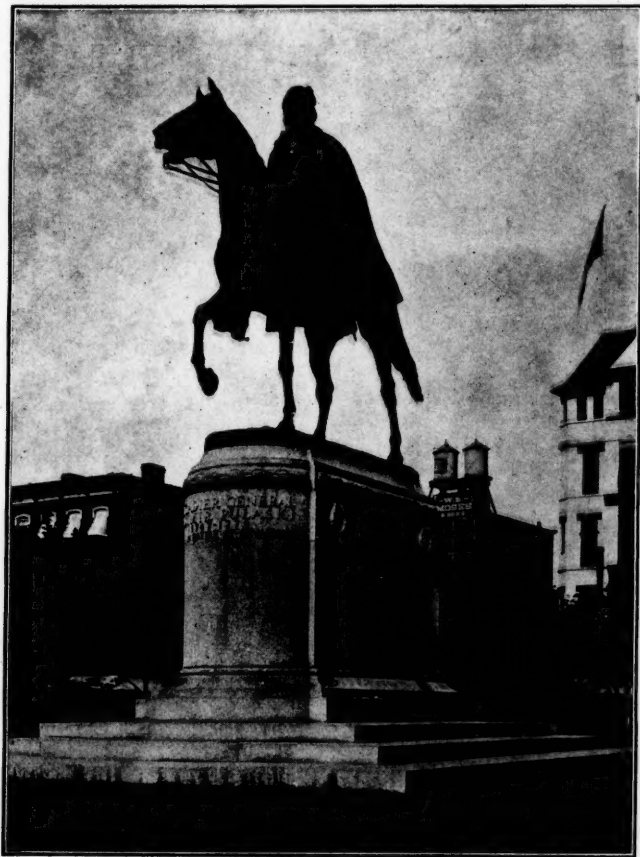
"The other charge brought against Williams is that he denied the power of the civil magistracy to punish for the violation of the first table of the law. To understand the force and meaning of this objection, which goes to the root and foundation of the Puritan commonwealth, whose statute book was the Bible, pure and simple, we must bear in mind that the ten commandments were the corner stone of their fabric. They were divided into 'two tables,' the first four covering the first table, and the other

six the second. The first table prescribed the duties which man owes to God; namely, worship, the use of oaths, and the observance of the Sabbath. The second table relates to the duties which man owes to man. The magistrate un-

inflict penalties for the neglect of religious duties."—*Chief Justice Job Durfee, quoted in Oscar S. Straus's "Roger Williams."*

Pastor Williams had to leave the scenes of his disinterested and patriotic devotion. But knowing his cause to be righteous, he willingly suffered rather than surrender. He knew the difference between the true and false conception of Christianity.

It was directly due to the Roger Williams doctrine that Rhode Island stood at the head of the colonies on the true principles of civil and religious liberty, though that colony has since deviated from its original attitude. Romanism claims that Maryland took the lead in proclaiming liberty, but no student of history need make such mistake, and an appeal to her statute books will reveal the fact that some present enforceable laws have a very decidedly "bluish" tint.



Buck, Washington, D. C.

COUNT PULASKI, WHOSE LIFE WAS SACRIFICED ON THE  
ALTAR OF AMERICAN LIBERTY

der this system claimed that his jurisdiction related to those duties which were to be rendered unto God, as well as to those which belonged to Caesar. Roger Williams resolutely denied the power and the right of the civil authorities to assume jurisdiction over the matters embraced in the first table, and to

To George Washington and the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was committed a mission of transcendent importance to all mankind. In more ways than one was Washington the father of his country. After the successful revolt against the mother country, he, with other leaders, saw the need of a transi-



tion from the federation of colonies to a national compact, to be known as the United States of America.

A reference or two concerning the attitude of the States which were to ratify the Constitution may be in place as we develop the idea which I believe to have been uppermost in the minds of the best-thinking people of that time. In the Virginia Convention, Patrick Henry, a delegate, said, in part:—

"You are not to inquire how your trade may be increased, nor how you are to become a great and powerful people, but how your liberties can be secured; for liberty ought to be the direct end of your government. . . . Liberty, the greatest of all earthly blessings, give us that precious jewel, and you may take everything else. . . . Guard with jealous attention the public liberty. . . . The great and direct end of government is liberty. Secure our liberty and privileges, and the end of government is answered. If this be not effectually done, government is an evil."

Madison, in the same convention, said:—

"There is not a shadow of right in the general government to intermeddle with religion. Its least interference with it would be a most flagrant usurpation. I can appeal to my uniform conduct on this subject, that I have warmly supported religious freedom."

After the Constitution had been ratified by the required number of States to make it operative and to launch the ship of state, it was thought by Seventh-day Baptists of Pennsylvania and other Baptists of Virginia that Article VI did not sufficiently guarantee religious freedom. Correspondence was carried on with George Washington, resulting in the addition of the first ten amendments, the first being, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The father of these amendments was James Madison, who was at the time a member of Congress.

The House of Representatives, in 1830, held that "it is the duty of this

government to afford to all—to Jew or Gentile, pagan or Christian—the protection and the advantages of our benignant institutions on Sunday as well as every day of the week. Although this government will not convert itself into an ecclesiastical tribunal, it will practice upon the maxim laid down by the Founder of Christianity—that it is lawful to do good on the Sabbath day."

It has been asserted that the reason the name of God is not mentioned in the Constitution is because the authors of that document were irreligious, or at best nonreligious. I shall quote in rebuttal of this position the conclusions of the judiciary committee of the House of Representatives in 1874, as follows:—

"The committee on the judiciary, to whom was referred the petition of E. G. Goulet and others, asking Congress for 'an acknowledgment of Almighty God and the Christian religion' in the Constitution of the United States, having considered the matter referred to them, respectfully pray leave to report,—

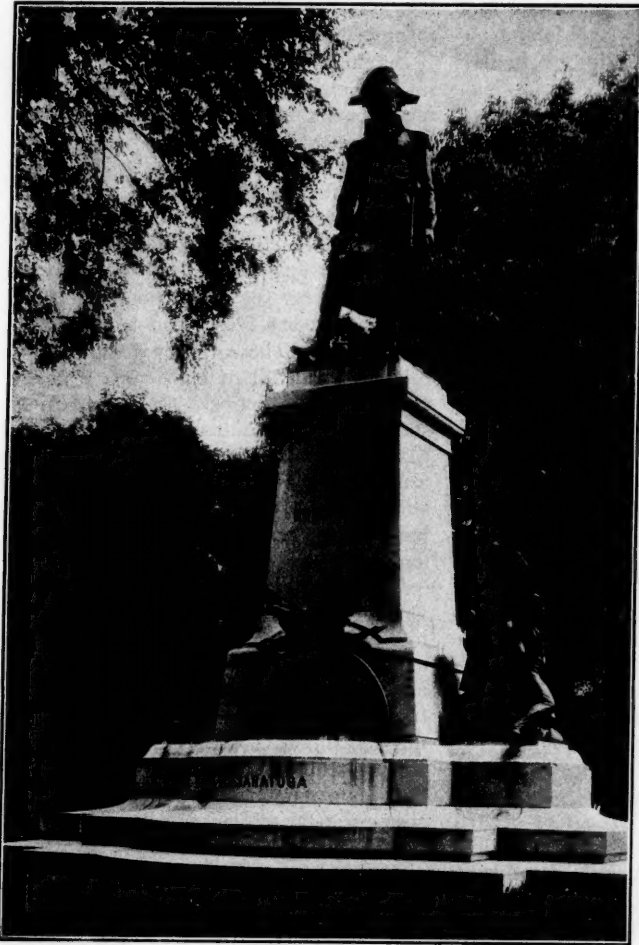
"That, upon examination even of the meager debates by the fathers of the republic in the convention which framed the Constitution, they find that the subject of this memorial was most fully and carefully considered, and then, in that convention, decided, after grave deliberation, to which the subject was entitled, that, as this country, the foundation of whose government they were then laying, was to be the home of the oppressed of all nations of the earth, whether Christian or pagan, and in full realization of the dangers which the union between church and state had imposed upon so many nations in the Old World, with great unanimity that it was inexpedient to put anything into the Constitution or frame of government which might be construed to be a reference to any religious creed or doctrine.

"And they further find that this decision was accepted by our *Christian fathers* with such great unanimity that in the amendments which were afterward proposed in order to make the Constitution more acceptable to the nation, none



has ever been proposed to the States by which this wise determination of the fathers has been attempted to be changed. Wherefore your committee report that it is inexpedient to legislate upon the sub-

Thus did our forefathers bequeath to posterity a priceless heritage, namely, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, in which were to be incorporated guaranties of civil and religious freedom.



Buck, Washington, D. C.

KOSCIUSZKO, WHO RENDERED VALUABLE SERVICE IN THE CAUSE OF AMERICAN LIBERTY

ject of the above memorial, and ask that they be discharged from the further consideration thereof, and that this report, together with the petition, be laid upon the table."—*House Reports, Vol. I, Forty-third Congress, first session. Report* 143.

principles upon which this country was constructed are Christian principles. But the doctrine of separation of church and state does not necessarily call for an irreligious government. Atheism had no part in the foundation principles of America.

Patriotic successors, as a rule, have followed consistently in the path marked out by the founders. In the Sunday Mail Report, communicated to the House of Representatives March 4, 5, 1830, the position was taken that "if the measure recommended [Sunday law] should be adopted, it would be difficult for human sagacity to foresee how rapid would be the succession or how numerous the train of measures which follow, involving the dearest rights of all—the rights of conscience. *It is perhaps fortunate for our country* that the proposition should have been made at this early period while the spirit of the Revolution yet exists in full vigor."

We say therefore, without hesitation, that the

## Out of Intolerance Into Freedom

C. E. HOLMES

THE attempt to incorporate the name of God in the federal Constitution, and "place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land," is distinctly a backward step. The repudiation of bigotry and intolerance inaugurated when our Constitution was framed and adopted, should have continued until every trace of church-and-state union was obliterated.

Coming out of the darkness of intolerance into the light of freedom, our forefathers were insensibly blinded to some of the darkness that still remained. Few today who enjoy the fruit of their toil and sacrifice realize the great step that was taken by them. They can hardly be blamed for retaining some of the lesser evils.

When our Constitution became the supreme law, many of the States still had established churches, in spirit if not in letter. Statutes were upon their books discriminating against men and women because they were Jews, Baptists, Quakers, infidels, or disbelievers in the Trinity, etc.

"There still linger among the usages of our governmental system some traces of the old concordat between church and state. Houses of Congress, local legislatures, and courts of justice are opened with prayer. The Bible is more or less read in the public schools. Presidents and governors issue annual proclamations of thanksgiving to Almighty God. Chaplains are appointed in the army and navy. On one of the less precious of our coins is stamped the words, 'In God we trust.'"—*Bishop W. R. Huntington*, in *"The Church Idea,"* page 128.

But instead of molding these relics of church-and-state union in the foundation of the nation, our forefathers dug down deep into the quarry of truth, and drew forth for the building the foundation

stone of civil and religious freedom. There was set before the States a beacon light that, if followed, would have led them to the full light of liberty.

But many of the States failed to follow this light. There still remain numerous religious Sunday laws and other vestiges of church control. While the result hoped for in the example set by the Constitution has not been attained in theory, it has to a large degree been obtained in fact. These ecclesiastical laws have fallen into disuse.

It is to be regretted, however, that there are today those who would have this country follow in the path of the colonies. Instead of endeavoring to secure the repealing of the persecuting statutes of bygone days and bringing the States up to the generous liberties of the Constitution, they would drag the Constitution back to where the States were before the great Magna Charta of our nation was ever thought of.

"Our national Constitution took advance ground when it forbade Congress to establish religion or to prohibit its free exercise, and recognizes no religious test as a qualification for office or public trust. Some of our States even yet have not advanced so far. There are still survivals in the constitutions of that earlier, more intolerant spirit which now seems so strangely out of place."—*James Quayle Dealey*, in *"Our State Constitutions,"* page 62.

We believe that many of the men who freed this country from political and religious tyranny were men of deep religious feeling and experience. In their unbounded happiness in being so providentially freed from unjust domination which had fettered men for so many centuries, it is not strange that great recognition should be made of God.

The Presbytery Eastward, in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, "sent a Christian address" to Pres. George

Washington in favor of an "explicit acknowledgment of the only true God and Jesus Christ," to be "inserted somewhere in the Magna Charta [Constitution] of our country." His reply is worth passing on to those who are at present importuning our legislators to place the name of God in the Constitution:—

"I am persuaded you will permit me to observe that the path of true piety is so plain as to require but little political direction. To this consideration we ought to ascribe the absence of any regulation respecting religion from the Magna Charta of our country. To the guidance of the ministers of the gospel the important object is, perhaps, more properly committed. And in the progress of morality and science, to which our government will give every furtherance, we may confidently expect the advancement of true religion and the completion of our happiness."—*Christian Life and Character of the Civil Institutions of the United States*, page 248.

"In a work on the Constitution, by James Bayard, of Delaware, which received the warm commendations of Chief Justice Marshall, Judge Story, Chancellor Kent, and other distinguished civilians and jurists," we find these words in reference to this particular controversy:—

"It has been made an objection to the Constitution, by some, that it makes no mention of religion, contains no recognition of the existence and providence of God,—as though his authority were slighted or disregarded. But such is not the reason of the omission. The convention which framed the Constitution comprised some of the wisest and best men of the nation,—men *who were firmly persuaded not only of the divine origin of the Christian religion*, but also of its importance to the temporal and eternal welfare of men. The people, too, of this country were generally impressed with religious feelings, and felt and acknowledged the superintendence of God, who had protected them through the per-

ils of war and blessed their exertions to obtain civil and religious freedom. But there were reasons why the introduction of religion into the Constitution would have been unseasonable, if not improper."—*Id.*, pages 259, 260.

There were ministers of the gospel in the early days of our country, especially during Revolutionary times, who clearly outlined the functions of church and state. And they were not afraid to teach the entire separation of these institutions. A noted Baptist clergyman, in an address before the Massachusetts Supreme Court (May 29, 1779), preached a sermon that stands as a needed rebuke to many today who are occupying pulpits. Some of the principles stated by this eminent and influential man are here given. It cannot be said of him that he was unacquainted with the legal side of the question, for he was elected by the city of Boston to represent its citizens at the framing of both the State constitution and the federal Constitution:—

"We should leave nothing to human virtue that can be provided for by law or the constitution. The more we trust in the hands of any man, the more we try his virtue, which, at some fatal hour, may yield to a temptation, and the people discover their error when it is too late to prevent the mischief."

"Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's." It is most evident in this passage that there are some things which Cæsar, or the magistrate, cannot of right demand, nor the people yield. The address has its limits. To determine what these are, was never more necessary to the people of these United States than it is at present. We are engaged in a most important contest, not for power, but for freedom. We mean not to change our masters, but to secure to ourselves, and to generations yet unborn, the perpetual enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, in their fullest extent."

"The power which the people commit into the hands of the magistrate is wholly

confined to the things of this world. Other power than this they have not. They have not the least authority over the consciences of one another, nor over their own consciences, so as to alienate

world. By his kingdom we mean his church, which is altogether spiritual. Its origin, government, and preservation are entirely of him who hath upon his vesture and upon his thigh written, 'King of kings, and Lord of lords.'



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MRS. WILLIAM G. MCADOO, DAUGHTER OF PRESIDENT WILSON,  
RECENTLY MARRIED AT THE WHITE HOUSE

them or subject them to the control of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, in which every man ought to be fully persuaded in his own mind, and to follow its dictates at all hazards, because he is to account for himself at the judgment seat of Christ."

"The kingdom of Christ is not of this

his laws in all matters of religion,—a complete code of which we have in the Sacred Scriptures,—and preserves by his power.

"The other is a civil society—originating with the people, and designed to promote their temporal interests—which is governed by men, whose authority is

"The doctrines that we are to believe, the duties that we are to perform, the officers who are to serve in this kingdom, and the laws by which all its subjects are to be governed, we become acquainted with by the oracles of God, which are the Christian's infallible directory; to which he is bound to yield obedience, at the risk of his reputation and life."

"Upon the whole, I think it is a plain as well as a very important truth that the church of Christ and a commonwealth are essentially different. The one is a religious society, of which Christ is the sole head, and which he gathers out of the world, in common, by the dispensation of his gospel, governs by

derived from their fellow citizens, and confined to the affairs of this world."

This nation is founded on Protestant principles. This means that all are free to accept or reject religious truth without civil coercion.

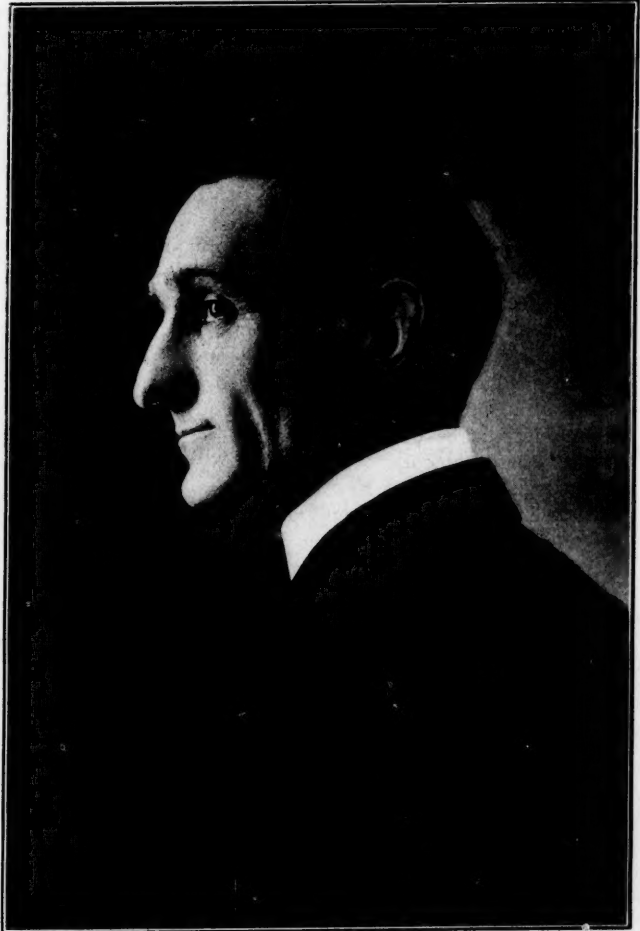
"God himself permits a man to disbelieve, even to blaspheme his holy name; nor does he abdicate his throne, but rather strengthens his benign sovereignty in doing so. This is the sort of religious freedom that loyal Americans stand for." The moment the Christian church indorses the use of force in propagating its belief, that moment she becomes a false church.

Christianity finds its proper place in man, and not in the government. The existence of sin and sinners in this world makes necessary a liberty that cannot consistently be denied by civil or ecclesiastical powers. Men differ; and as long as they all behave civilly, the question of their religious affiliation has nothing whatever to do with their citizenship or their rights to life, liberty, and peace.

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THE functions which pertain to divine institutions should be rendered to God and not to Caesar. If it is proper for Caesar to compel people to keep the Lord's Day, then it is just as consistent

for Caesar or the civil government to compel people to observe the Lord's Supper, the Lord's baptism, and repeat the Lord's Prayer. What system of logic or reasoning makes it proper for the



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WILLIAM G. MCADOO, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

state to legislate upon one of the Lord's institutions and improper to legislate upon the other three that have his name prefixed to them? All are purely religious requirements, and the American government, in order to be true to her principles, can never logically and consistently enact or enforce religious laws of any kind.



## Sophistries of National Reformism

J. F. BLUNT

FRIENDS of civil and religious liberty consistently oppose the enactment of laws that would discriminate in respect to days. They rightly declare that acts, lawful to be committed on six days of the week, cannot be prohibited by man on the seventh, without involving the question of religious privilege, and thus restricting the free choice of the individual in religious worship.

Ample constitutional guaranties exist in the several States and in the nation, whereby the natural right of every citizen to decide for himself in religious things, without interference by the state, is steadfastly maintained. Had these solemn pledges always been regarded, there would be no precedents, to which attention could be directed, as favoring further encroachments.

But legislative bodies have not always been true to the basic law, and the courts, at times, have given truculent indorsement to acts that constitute an unwarranted invasion of the liberties of citizens, as in Tennessee recently. Despite these unjust rulings, eminent jurists elsewhere have sought effectually to preserve these inalienable rights from sophistic abridgment, and it has come to be recognized quite generally that there must be no mingling of the affairs of church and state, by the civil enforcement of sectarian precepts.

Such noble defense of the rights of citizenship, and the undeniable logic that has accompanied it, has made it difficult to invoke the civil power, as a means of coercing dissenters whom fallacious arguments have not constrained to adopt religious customs founded on error. So, still intent upon the aid of the state in the effort to compel the religious observance of Sunday, these mistaken advocates of governmental coercion have been forced to adopt a policy of evasion, and far and wide the plea is heard that "there is nothing religious in Sunday closing."

The fact that those who resort to such subterfuges themselves ordinarily favor the religious observance of Sunday, ought to make right-thinking people examine with care the truthfulness of the declaration that Sunday laws are devoid of religious significance, and that the object of those who favor such enactments is to protect the helpless employee from the exactions of individual and corporate greed, which otherwise might allow him no weekly rest day. Ulterior reasons are not difficult to find that discredit such hypocritical pretensions.

There is a deliberate endeavor to conceal the true basis of the demand for Sunday closing in quarters where its sectarian nature would be liable to cause resentment. What the National Reformers, so called, desire is to use the labor party as a cat's paw with which to draw the well-roasted chestnut of Sunday observance, after exasperating delay, out of the legislative furnace. "We are laboring with all our might," said the Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, foremost champion of Sunday laws, in Wichita, Kans., as long ago as Sept. 20, 1889, "to carry the religious sabbath with our right arm and the civil sabbath with our left. Hundreds of thousands will receive it as a religious institution, and all the rest will receive it as a civil institution, and thus we will sweep in the whole nation."

So ardently has the religious significance of Sunday keeping been proclaimed in other days that a false standard of "Christian citizenship" has been raised in the attempt to discredit professed Christians who deny the sanctity of Sunday. But, well knowing that many regard Sunday as merely the first day of the week, and despairing of convincing them that God meant the first day of the week when he commanded the observance of the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath, Mr. Crafts and his associates in error were constrained to



adopt that admittedly two-faced argument when advocating the suspension of labor on Sunday.

And the Bible, that wonderful discerner of men's puerile pretexts, speaks of a power to arise in the earth which should cause all, "both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads: and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark," or, in other words, should be subservient to the autocratic mandate. And, as showing to what an extent this usurpation by human government finally would go, we are told in Rev. 13:15 that the recalcitrants would have a sentence of death passed upon them as the penalty of their obstinacy.

For many years, Bible students have insisted that the time would come when the observance of the false sabbath would be made the test of citizenship, and that the persistent disregard of this man-made requirement would be followed by the death sentence. Happily, the world has not yet reached the extreme limit; but, as showing the trend of fanaticism, an utterance coming from the lips of the Rev. Dr. Bascom Robbins, a distinguished advocate of Sunday observance, is pertinent.

"In the Christian decalogue," said Mr. Robbins, "the first day was made the sabbath by divine appointment. But there is a class of people who will not keep the Christian sabbath unless they are *forced* to do so; but that can easily be done. If we would say, We will not *sell* anything to them, we will not *buy* anything from them, we will not *work* for them, nor *hire them to work for us*, the thing could be wiped out, and all the world would keep the Christian sabbath."

Note the benevolent disposition manifested in this pronouncement, as affecting labor! Such love have they who profess solicitude for the workingman, and who hypocritically deny the religious basis of their Sunday propaganda. In

colonial days, the persistent failure of citizens to keep Sunday was made punishable in the laws of several colonies by death upon the scaffold. While it is not recorded that any one was hanged for desecration of the day, severe punishment was visited upon those who absented themselves from church or otherwise offended the bigots of those times.

But the Scriptures clearly indicate (Rev. 13:8) that there will be those, whose names are written in the Lamb's book of life, who will not accede to the unwarranted demands of this earthly power which shall seek to impose its mark upon mankind; and these, having "gotten the victory," were seen by the revelator standing on the "sea of glass, having the harps of God" (Rev. 15:2), while those who had rendered obedience to commandments opposed to those of God, would receive the just punishment of their offenses (Rev. 19:20). So, believing that vital issues are bound up in this matter of obedience to God's requirements, there are those who oppose most strenuously the usurpation of the right of each individual to decide for himself which he will serve, the God of heaven or the apostate power that presumes to inaugurate on any pretext mandates opposed thereto.

As for the pretense that Sunday laws are wanted in the interest of the laboring man, it is known that extra time is already allowed in most trades for Sunday labor, proportionate compensation being increased for services rendered. To declare that a citizen cannot work on Sunday would be to restrict his right to contract his labor, and place a handicap upon his manner of existence. The deception is as patent as that of the farmer who, thinking to catch his unwilling horse, carries a measure of oats in front of him, while carefully concealing behind his back the halter. And the necks of the laboring men are likely to feel the galling restraint once these fanatical enactments are placed upon the statute books.

## True and False Theocracy—No. 2

T. F. HUBBARD

NOTWITHSTANDING the fact that no true theocracy can exist which is dependent upon human legislation and separate from direct revelation from Heaven, there are many movements among men today which are working to produce a theocracy out of purely civil governments,—such movements as the National Reform Association and the Sabbath reform associations.

Hear one of the speakers at the World's Christian Citizenship Conference, at Portland, Oregon, in 1913, who represented one of three great movements, the Federal Council of the Churches, and who spoke thus of the purpose of that conference:—

"The principal theme of this great conference that is meeting in this city, is the 'Kingdom of Christ.' This is the center of our program. The central statement of this conference is to make that kingdom eminent and dominant in the affairs of men; in other words, to realize that prayer which Christ taught his disciples to pray, 'Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.'

*"That is the principal purpose of this magnificent conference, and every item of this magnificent program that has been provided for us relates in some way, more nearly or more remotely, to that one theme, that one purpose."*—*R. M. Downey, who presided at one of the sectional divisions of the conference.*

The federated churches are aiming to establish, by civil legislation, the kingdom of Christ on earth. But theocracies are not produced by civil legislation or civil government. They exist only in the absence of purely civil government. These two forms of government cannot exist at the same time, for one is ruled by God, the other by men. When men try to have a theocracy, it is anthropotheo government, or a government controlled by men who have assumed the prerogatives of God, which has always proved—as

attested by the facts of history—a government of selfish, bigoted, persecuting men, rather than of an unselfish, liberal, long-suffering, loving, and merciful Heavenly Father.

The churches are trying to do with Christ just what some misguided people did when Jesus was on earth two thousand years ago. They had read the prophecies which spoke of Christ as a prophet and a king, and they decided to make him king by civil enactment, or by force (these terms are synonymous when religion is involved). "Then those men, when they had seen the miracle that Jesus did, said, This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world. When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force, to make him a king, he departed again into a mountain himself alone." John 6: 14, 15.

We have the irrefutable testimony of Christ himself in regard to being a king. He said to Pilate, "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence." John 18: 36.

Christ came to rule in the hearts of all who come into the new covenant relation with him. "For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord; I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people." Heb. 8: 10. See Jer. 31: 31-34.

Christ asks us to give him our hearts for his throne (Rev. 3: 20, 21), where he may rule as our King. "That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith" (Eph. 3: 14-17), not by obeying civil law. Therefore Christ's reign among men is a spiritual reign in their hearts and lives, not a temporal reign by civil legislation. The way they keep him on the throne is by an obedient faith. The

way our King applies his law to make Christian citizens is to write that law in the heart of the believer, and not on some statute book of a government.

The various reform associations in trying to make a Christian citizen by writing God's law into civil laws and enforcing obedience to such laws, have undertaken to accomplish something which only the Spirit of God can accomplish, and that not by compulsion. We read: "Forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ . . . written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart." 2 Cor. 3:3. Therefore religious legislation is a usurpation of the work of the Holy Spirit, who writes the law of God in the heart and mind, under the new covenant.

The reform associations try to do a thing for sinners which the Holy Spirit would not dare to do—even compel the unwilling to subscribe to the law of God. No amount of such juggling with God's law can make even one Christian, much less Christianize the nation or the world.

#### Why Legislation Will Not Make Christian Citizens

Under the best theocracy the world could ever have, when, in the days of Moses, God wrote his own law on tables of stone; when he spoke the same from the burning summit of Sinai, and his words rolled down the mountain like peals of loudest thunder, and the people, overwhelmed by the attending glory and majesty, agreed to keep God's law,—even that legislation could save only those who by faith kept the covenant.

Many, after agreeing to the contract, began at once to break God's law. This shows the folly of any set of men trying to make Christians by law. If God could not make unconverted men and women Christian citizens, why should puny man attempt such a thing?

If the whole world were compelled to subscribe to a religious civil law,—if the Jews, who keep Saturday and do not believe in Christ; the Mohammedans,

who believe in Mohammed and keep Friday; the heathen world, which worships false gods and keeps no day; the infidels, who believe in no God; and many millions who make no profession, should, through coercive measures, be compelled to obey outwardly such a law,—would it even then be supposable that all these people would be Christian citizens?—It is impossible.

The man who causes coerced obedience in religious matters is worse than the one who is compelled to obey. Therefore all who enforce religious laws upon those who will not voluntarily be religious are as hypocritical as the ones who sacrifice belief of conscience to obey a civil law on account of the fear of man.

We must remember that Christ as King in spiritual things persuades, but does not compel. Those who are his followers will do likewise. Those who are persecuted may *sometimes* be in the wrong, but those who are persecutors are *always* in the wrong. Religious legislation means, as it always has meant, religious persecution. Christ our King wants no help from Cæsar. Those who have the spirit of Christ will not solicit help from any earthly power.

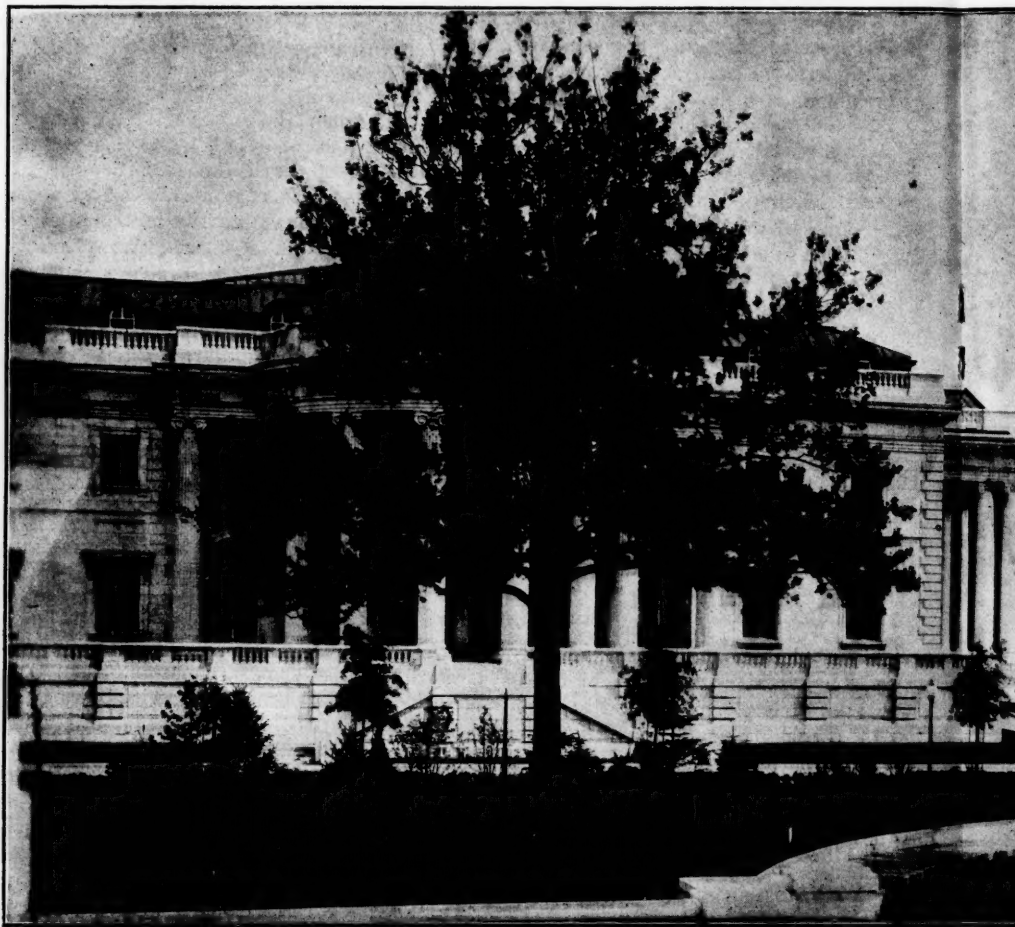
This union of churches to enact religious laws and dogmas into civil law, is a denial of the great principles of the gospel of love and choice in things divine. It is unconstitutional and unscriptural and unchristian, though many in such a movement may be honest.

Rev. Charles Beecher said in 1846: "The ministry of the evangelical denominations is not only formed, all the way up, under a tremendous pressure of human fear, but they live and move and breathe in a state of things radically corrupt, and appealing every hour to every base element in their nature to hush up the truth and bow the knee in apostasy. Were not these the very things that went with Rome? And what do we see just ahead?—Another general council; a world's convention, evangelical alliance, and universal creed."

The prediction of Charles Beecher is

fast coming true, for already we have thirty-two great church bodies united; and though they profess to be Protestant churches, they have signified their intention to yoke up with the Catholic Church

Greek and Roman Churches unite with us. . . . The Roman Church has its old traditions which are hard to break down, but some of the greatest minds in these bodies are now thinking on this question."



*Harris and Ewing, Washington, D. C.*

PAN-AMERICAN BUILDING, W.  
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in legislating against Sabbath desecration and other things, as well as to accept that church into their confederacy.

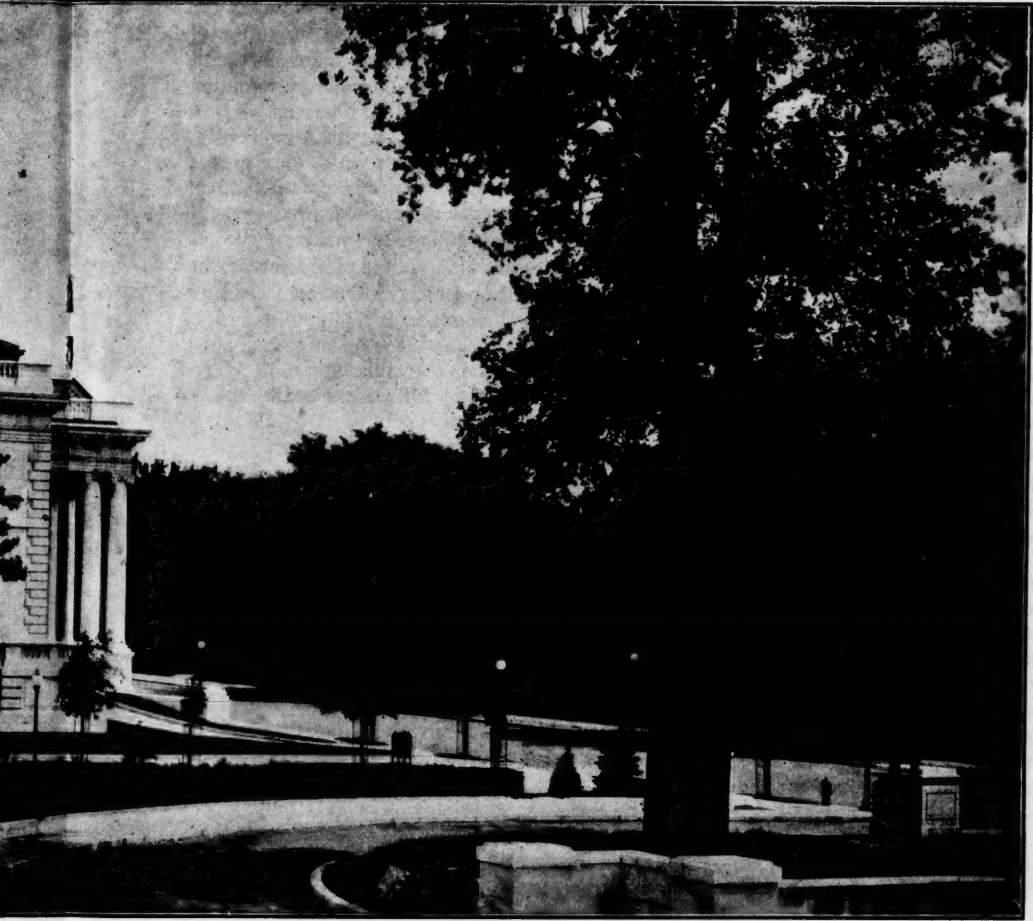
A speech made in Philadelphia, in December, 1908, by Rev. Dr. Arthur S. Lloyd, has a pertinent bearing on this subject. He said, in part: "There will never be anything like unity until the

The greatest dangers that threaten the liberties of free institutions in America are not the great financial trusts which are forming in this country, but the great religious combinations which are uniting for the purpose of accomplishing through political auxiliaries that which they cannot accomplish by persuasion.

### Where We Draw the Line

AN institution of learning supported by the state is a desirable thing, but not for the teaching of a state religion. One of the bulwarks of our American Con-

stitution know how our own forefathers came to this hemisphere to enjoy freedom of worship uncontrolled by state religious domination. Religious education is the sphere of the church, and not of the state.



BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.  
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stitution is the complete freedom of religion which it grants to all. Further, institutions that teach religion should not be under state control, but absolutely free from it, whether supported by a denomination or from any other legitimate source. We know what a state religion has done in other lands, and we

Moreover, history shows that the people who enjoy freedom of religion are the happiest and most progressive. Russia has a state religion, and there the church joins hands with the state in persecuting all who differ from it. The same was formerly true in Italy, Spain, and Portugal.—*Christian Herald*, Dec. 3, 1913.



## Shall Ecclesiastical Laws or Civil Laws Be Enforced in Washington, D. C.?

C. E. HOLMES

THE city of Washington, D. C., is now in the midst of a battle over the question of permitting public games and amusements on Sunday. While I am not interested in the matter of public sports or theatricals, the enforcement of a religious practice by civil law I believe to be a matter of public concern.

The issue was drawn when the District Commissioners refused to grant a license for a Sunday ball game in a local park. The manager of the ball grounds secured a writ of injunction against the commissioners, and the game was played without further interference. The trial was appointed for May 22.

The District Court rendered its decision on that date, declaring that the commissioners had no authority to enact general Sunday laws. In handing down the opinion of the court, Justice Gould said:—

"The situation in the District of Columbia in reference to its government is unique. I know of no other community placed in the same situation. The Constitution of the United States in its most explicit terms vests all legislative power over the District of Columbia in Congress. A very interesting question is how far Congress can delegate power conferred by the Constitution to any person or body outside of Congress itself.

"I am very firm in the opinion that the language used in the joint resolution cannot be construed to apply to the general laws regarding Sunday labor. Is it not better that when we have a Sunday law, it be passed by the body which has legislative authority? I find no power granted broad enough to cover the act of the commissioners in enacting this regulation. The joint resolution of 1892 says the commissioners are authorized to make all such reasonable and usual police regulations.

"I cannot believe that this ordinance

which we are now considering is reasonable. It is an offense against the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution in that it is unreasonable. I am not criticizing the commissioners in attempting to enforce it; they did their duty until it was up to the courts or Congress to construe otherwise. I will continue the injunction and issue a mandamus, if necessary, for the issuance of the license."

In this judgment, the justice strikes a very telling blow at the character of the regulation under consideration. He says that the ordinance forbidding games is *not reasonable*. "It is an offense against the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution in that it is unreasonable." The justice evidently believes that it interferes with personal liberty.

It was immediately reported by Mr. Syme, counselor for the commissioners, that the case would be carried to the District Court of Appeals. Should the decision of the lower court be upheld, the commissioners will then petition Congress to pass a law giving them power to prohibit Sunday amusements.

No sooner did it become known that there was a possibility that the prohibitions now surrounding Sunday would be invalidated than the various churches in the District began a campaign against it. Almost without exception all the arguments produced were of a religious character.

"There can be no possible excuse for baseball here on Sunday, and I see no reason why the national capital cannot lead all other cities in the country in respect to strict Sunday observance," says one pastor. Another objects because "baseball on Sunday tends to interfere with the proper observance of the Sabbath."

It is also claimed that "attendance at divine service cannot be properly obtained." A report in this connection that

is very important was made by the officers of the Christian Endeavor Union of this city. "They scout the statements that have been made to the effect that the Sunday closing laws are not with religious intent, but for the general good of the community."—*Washington Times*, May 23, 1914.

Petitions are being circulated among the churches and young people's societies of the District, appealing to Congress to pass a law forbidding all games that "desecrate" the Christian sabbath. Some of the ministers have advocated the boycott if their wishes are not respected.

I am ready to admit that respect for religion is rapidly waning, and that baseball playing is a desecration of God's holy day. But for the reason that Sabbath keeping is entirely a matter of divine requirement, civil law should never be called upon to enforce it.

The United States Supreme Court (113 U. S., 703) has already stated that "laws setting aside Sunday as a day of rest" cannot be upheld "from any right of the government to legislate for the promotion of religious observances." In view of this decision of our highest court, the allegations of the clergymen are a sufficient rebuttal of their position.

Another decision, which we believe overthrows the legal position of those who would condemn amusements on the first day of the week, is found in Federal Reports No. 21, page 299. The judge affirms that a day of rest protected by law is to afford an "opportunity for innocent and healthful amusement and recreation." Were the views of the clergy to be followed, no chance for such pleasures would be given.

Mr. Joseph Lee, president of the Playground Association of America, says:—

"I believe our Sunday laws forbidding play and sport are in the main an evil. I believe they do much harm and prevent a great deal of good. . . .

"By forbidding play also, we have done our best to make the day, for the young people at least, a day of idleness; and the distinction between enjoining

idleness and promoting evil is one hardly worth insisting on."—*"Sunday Play," page 1.*

The church is surely in a precarious condition when it must call on civil law to help it to get its members to attend religious services on Sunday. When the church cannot maintain its membership, it is time to begin an invoice of its stock and find out what the real difficulty is.

In discussing the question of Sunday baseball, Hon. Joseph W. Folk takes a just and Christian position:—

"The law cannot know either Baptist or Methodist, Catholic, Protestant, or Jew. It cannot fix fast days or feast days. Separation of church and state must ever be one of the cardinal tenets of free government. . . .

"We have a right to persuade others to our own way of thinking if we can, but not to make them criminals by law on matters about which the consciences of men may differ. . . . Baseball, however, is clearly unobjectionable on week days. We may for conscientious reasons not attend such games on Sunday; but, because on religious grounds we do not, is it proper for us to enact a law preventing others from doing so?"—*Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 12, 1910.

No doubt Congress will soon be called upon to settle, for the time at least, the question of whether the demands of the churches alone shall be followed, or whether the rights of all, of unbelievers as well as of believers, shall be respected.

If every inhibition of Sunday sports were wiped off the statute books, no one would be kept from church if he wished to attend. The rights of no one would be infringed upon.

There ought to be no serious difficulty encountered in settling this question, if simple justice and equity are followed. The churches of today are fast becoming dictatorial and intolerant toward those outside their communion, and those thus imposed upon are strongly resenting this religious bigotry. So there will be more or less trouble until the churches feel the need of divine rather than human power to uphold their teachings.

# EDITORIAL

WHAT the sinning world needs is not more law, but more love; not an austere Judge, but an ardent Lover.

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CHRISTIANITY and Churchianity are two distinct systems, and in many instances are not in harmony with each other. Christianity rests upon Christ and his Word, but Churchianity often rests upon the mere assumptions of men.

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He is not truly free from bondage who manages to escape the dominion of the civil law; but we are told, "If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." Soul freedom from the dominion of the law of sin and death is Christian liberty.

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ALL religious obligations, according to the divine plan, rest upon faith rather than force. He who seeks to legislate into civil law any one of God's divine institutions perverts the teachings of Christ. God does not want a single subject in his kingdom who does not choose to be there of his own free will. Enforced religion does not add one individual to the kingdom of heaven, nor does it help the individual, beyond making it easier for him to act the part of a hypocrite.

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THERE are some good and earnest people who lament that our Constitution contains no express recognition of the Christian religion, and there exists an organization which wishes to bring about a suitable amendment to the Constitution. While we respect the conviction of these good people, yet, according to our opinion, it is much to be doubted

whether this agitation is healthy, or, if it should be successful, whether the desired results would appear.—*Der Christliche Apologete, Cincinnati, June 25, 1913.*

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ACCORDING to the Scriptures we are not saved *en masse*, but as individuals. Each person must stand alone before God, and give account of his own conduct. The divine commission is to preach and teach the gospel to every creature—to the individual. It is personal effort for individual souls that counts. It is one or none. A mistaken idea prevails among many that the state can legislate people *en masse* into the kingdom of God by making a legal national acknowledgment of Christianity. It is true that at the last day we are all to be delivered *en masse*, but it must be remembered that this vast multitude gathered together out of all nations and ages were saved one by one, separately, as the Lord took out of each nation a people for his name.

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GOD has never endowed any one with sufficient wisdom to think and speak for all others. Superior education and talents should lead us to pity and forbearance instead of creating in us a desire to push our weaker brother against the wall. He who seems to be greatest should make himself servant of all instead of lord over all. To exercise our strength and authority over others in an arbitrary manner simply because we may have power is, in truth, tyrannical. God's greatness consists chiefly in his forbearance toward his enemies. For six thousand years he has suffered Satan to malign his character and hinder his plans without bringing him to judgment,

If men in authority would be more tolerant and merciful, it would add grace and dignity to the office they occupy.

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WE are to bless and not curse our enemies. We are to pray for them and return good for evil. We are to rejoice when we are persecuted for Christ's sake. We believe that these principles ought to apply in all the relations of men and organizations, whether civil or ecclesiastical. We do not believe that we should be "anti" anything except anti-crime and anti-sin. The state should hate nothing but crime, and the church nothing but sin. If our brother is in error, let him that is spiritual restore the erring one, in all meekness and kindness, lest he become a castaway. In correcting our brother for manifesting a wrong spirit, we too often exhibit more wrong in temper and language than he did in the first place. Christ shunned personalities and invectives. When it was necessary to reprove, he did it with pathos in his voice and tears in his eyes. Jesus knew that Judas was dishonest and would betray him, yet he did not expose him or his personal mistakes, even to his bosom friends. Our mission should be to save and not to condemn; to construct and not to destroy; to encourage and not to discourage. A criticism, to be helpful, must include the necessary element of love for the one or ones criticized.

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#### The General Assembly and the Pope's Bull

THE Washington *Herald* of June 6 deals editorially with the refusal of the Presbyterian General Assembly to be more liberal in the matter of Sunday recreation and Sunday amusements. The *Herald* deprecates the idea of trying to compel the people to make of Sunday a Puritan sabbath. The editor says:—

When those who call themselves Protestants become more arbitrary in their church bans than the old Mother Church, they should not be surprised if the spirit of protest rises against them, and the people go their way without regard to the ecclesiastical decrees, and look upon these as they did upon the Pope's bull against the comet.

It is about three hundred years since the blue laws of Connecticut were made by the old Puritan fathers, and New England people now deny that they ever existed except in historical fiction. The Presbyterian General Assembly met in Chicago in May, 1914, not in Plymouth Plantation in 1620; and while it did not deny the divine right of a mother to kiss her children on Sunday, it attempted to deny her the right to take her children to the park on Sunday and watch them play.

While we cannot deny to a religious organization the right to say what rules shall govern the members of that organization, we do deny the right of such an organization to say what rules shall govern those who are not members of that organization. But that is what is done wherever religious bodies come before legislative bodies and demand laws to compel themselves and other people to observe Sunday as a day of rest and worship. Against that we do and always shall protest.

C. M. S.

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#### For the Sake of Expediency

A NATION may recompense others by giving away her treasures, but a nation cannot surrender the principles of liberty for the cause of expediency. A man cannot be liberal with his conscience, nor a woman with her honor; likewise must a nation preserve her liberties inviolate. Our inalienable rights cannot be alienated from us. They are a God-given heritage to all men, to all eternity.

The individual who exchanges his freedom for sordid wealth or blatant honor is a slave to his own passions. The individual who loves his own free-

dom and rejoices over the opportunity to control another's freedom is a tyrant. He only is a beneficent sovereign who rules his own spirit, and who is able to control himself to the extent that he can keep his hands from regulating another's liberties. Every man should live so that at the close of his career he can say, "I have never deprived another of his rights to satiate my own ambitions, nor appropriated in the slightest degree another's means to add to my fortune."

A conscience void of offense toward God and toward man is a jewel of the greatest excellence, glittering like the morning star, full of joy and hope. If we lose our keen sensibility of right principles, our estimate of true honor, and our love of the safeguards of our neighbor's liberty, through the insatiable desire to carry out the policy of expediency, we shall soon sacrifice all that is truly noble in our characters. C. S. L.

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#### Blaming Deity for Blue Laws

THE Baltimore *Star* in an editorial in its issue of May 26, dealing with Councilman Kilmer's declaration that if the council amended the present Sunday law of Baltimore, it would be "amending a law not made by men, but handed down by God," quotes the entire fourth commandment as a refutation of the councilman's statement, and then asks:—

How is an effort to legalize amateur Sunday baseball to be construed as an attempt to amend a law of God?

Sure enough, how is it? The fourth commandment, the commandment which establishes the Sabbath of Jehovah (the only weekly Sabbath the Bible knows), has nothing more to do with Sunday than it has to do with Monday or Wednesday. Sunday is nowhere mentioned in the law of God; and it has never been true that an alteration of a Sunday law has affected the law of God in any way. By

no possible process of reason or logic can it be shown that the law of God commands the observance of Sunday as a day of rest and worship. He who seeks to make the law of God the basis and reason for compulsory Sunday observance is tampering with that law and wresting the Scripture to his own condemnation. The Baltimore editor makes the following sensible comment on the situation:—

We seriously deprecate any attempt to saddle the blue laws of Baltimore and Maryland upon Deity. Humanity attributes far too many of its faults, shortcomings, and misfortunes to that high seat. . . . He would do sacrilege who would ascribe the actual results of the blue-law Sunday to the only King who truly can do no wrong. The battle for genuine righteousness has begun, not ended. Let it not be beclouded by silly cant.

The unconverted heart cannot keep the Sabbath. Human laws to compel men who are unconverted to keep the Sabbath *are sacrilegious* because they seek to compel men to act as if they were religious when they are not, to perform an act under duress because another who is religious performs it as a duty. Human laws to compel men who are converted to keep the Sabbath *are unnecessary*; for the converted man will keep the Sabbath without the compulsion of human law. At whatever angle the matter of religious legislation is viewed, it proves itself to be out of harmony with the purpose of God and subversive of the rights of man.

C. M. S.

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#### A Christianity That Counts

A CHRISTIANITY that does not win souls is worthless. A Christianity that drives men into submission is not worthy the name. The gospel of Jesus Christ is a gospel of love to win men, and not a gospel of force to drive men. It is a precious jewel, which, when put on exhibition, will attract men. Christ said:



"And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me."

Just here is where many of the ministers of Christ sadly fail today. It is a lamentable fact that Christ and the Word of God are largely tabooed. Reformation, instead of regeneration, has become the slogan of the church. Civil righteousness is taking the place of imputed righteousness. The law of force is supplanting the force of conviction. The ministry is sending its petitions for aid into the halls of legislation, instead of winging them heavenward to the throne of God. Civil power is substituted for spiritual power. Form and ceremony are taking the place of the Christian graces.

The Christianity that counts is the converse of what has just been described. Its keynote is the law of love instead of the law of force, the law of attraction instead of the law of repulsion, the law of choice instead of the law of coercion. Its power is from above instead of from beneath, from Christ instead of from the

state. Its blessings are that it sets men free from bondage instead of casting them into prison; it lifts up the fallen instead of casting them down; it entreats the wary instead of condemning them; it offers manna instead of a stone; it draws men instead of pushing them. Its hope is in God instead of in man, in the triumph of truth instead of the triumph of might. The Christianity that counts woos men instead of wounding them; it encircles them in the arms of love instead of confining them in fetters of iron. It offers comfort instead of oppression. It points out a place of refuge to which one can flee, instead of a scaffold of execution.

Would you win the unbeliever, the dissenter, the non-conformist? then lead him to Christ instead of to Cæsar—to the foot of the cross of Christ instead of the foot of a throne. Deal with him in love instead of malice, and you will cover a multitude of sins, and represent a Christianity that counts: C. S. L.



## Baltimore and Sunday Ball

### A Stirring Agitation With Much Involved in It

THE city of Baltimore has been in a ferment for weeks over the question of permitting amateur baseball on Sunday, and the matter is not yet settled. The city council was about evenly divided when the matter was put to a vote, and the bill proposing to legalize the playing of ball on Sunday by amateurs was rejected by a majority of one vote.

The press of Baltimore and a considerable portion of the influential inhabitants have been working in the interests of the bill introduced by Mr. Hiller, believing that it would be more conducive to the health and morality of growing boys if they were permitted to indulge in

this form of exercise on Sunday than if they were required to spend the day chafing in idleness or take the alternative of visiting the river resorts.

While the playing of amateur ball is a healthful exercise for those who engage in it, it must be admitted that it is not particularly a religious performance. The true Christian who is seeking to follow conscientiously in the footsteps of his Lord will not be found engaging in athletic sports upon the day which he believes his Lord requires him to observe as a day of rest and worship. Jehovah designed that the Sabbath should be a day devoted to a consideration of divine

things—one day out of the seven in which the soul will feed upon spiritual food and be strengthened for the conflict with evil.

But that is an individual duty, an individual requirement. One person cannot do it for another. Each soul must render his own account at the judgment bar of God. Each is responsible for the example he sets; but his responsibility and his example are taken account of by the great judge. It is not for one man to force another, contrary to his will, to perform his duty toward the Most High. If God does not compel him, certainly it is the highest folly for man to attempt it. It is an implication that God is unable to enforce his will, and must look to man for help in doing it.

So while it is the duty of the individual to observe the Sabbath properly, it is not the business of any person to force another thus to observe it. Says the inspired writer: "Every one of us shall give account of himself to God." Rom. 14:12. But every Sunday law ever passed by men has been an attempt to compel a portion of the people to observe the day as another portion do or think they ought to. Every religious law passed by men has been an attempt on the part of some of the people to compel the rest of the people to believe as they do and act as their convictions tell them they ought to act. In such a case there is religious liberty for only a portion of the people, and all the people obey the convictions of a part of the people.

The men of '76 are as superior to those of other ages as are their principles and institutions. They were men actuated not by ambition, not by pride, not by passion, but by principle. Notwithstanding their many grievances, compared with the oppressed multitudes then in France they enjoyed a kind and lenient rule from the mother country. The tax which roused them to resistance was a trifling matter; it was against the principle therein involved, that they took up arms.—*Rev. George Burrows, professor of languages in Lafayette College, in a discourse delivered in the First Presbyterian church of Easton, Pa., Nov. 27, 1851.*

The people of Baltimore, or any other place, have the right to keep their sabbath, and to keep it in harmony with their most conscientious convictions; but when a portion of them have done that, they have done all that Heaven requires of them in that particular. God does not ask them to step in between him and some other soul and compel that soul to act as if he had their convictions, and disregard his own.

One of the paradoxes or anomalies of the situation in Baltimore is that one of

the councilmen who was most active in defeating the Hiller measure operates a garage, which he keeps open on Sunday for the repair of automobiles and the sale of gasoline. This councilman, according to the *Baltimore Star* of May 27, "opposed the legalization of Sunday amateur baseball because it was a

desecration of the Sabbath." Concerning this the *Star* pertinently remarks:—

The Sunday activities of Councilman Hildebrand indicate that he regards the sale of gasoline by himself and the proper grooming of automobiles distinctly worshipful and conducive to the solemn sanctity of the day, for to this end he requires his employees to work on the Sabbath, which is not to be profaned by the playing of amateur baseball.

Councilman Kilmer, in opposing the baseball bill, said:—

When we attempt to amend the present law, we are amending, not man's law, but God's law, and when God speaks, it is in a voice of thunder, and he has spoken to some of us.

Anent this declaration one of the councilman's colleagues remarked:—

Mr. Kilmer's hearing seems to have lost its sense of identification. The voice of thunder most of us have heard today came from the Rennert [hotel] and not from heaven. But the effect appears to be pretty much the same.

At the Rennert, it was reported, the bosses had been in close conference with the councilmen, and had given them to understand that they were to kill the baseball bill.

From the remarks made by both the proponents and the opponents of the measure, it was perfectly evident that the bill was being opposed in the supposed interest of religion and the church. One of the councilmen declared:—

I know the people of Baltimore to be moral and religious. I know, too, that they are not to be driven. Those who desire to go to church will go voluntarily. You cannot drive them there by forbidding them reasonable forms of healthy and innocent recreation on Sunday. . . . You who enjoy the right to spend your Sundays in the manner that seems most

proper to you should not deny to others the right to live and act according to the dictates of their consciences. Is the liberty of the many to be restricted by a few? If this is to be so, then the spirit of our Constitution is lost, and in this country all that remains of liberty is the big statue that stands in New York harbor. . . . You cannot make men regular church attendants by law any more than you can make them moral by law. All the blue laws on the statute books cannot advance the human race one iota.

The justice and good sense of this councilman's address ought to commend themselves to every right-thinking individual. The demand for the enactment of religious customs and practices into law is in direct proportion to the growth of spiritual indifference in the rank and file of the church membership. There was a time when all the functions of the church were enforced by human law; but that time was the Dark Ages, the midnight of the world. Every civil enactment enforcing a religious practice or custom is a step backward toward that time and those conditions. C. M. S.

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## Why Rome Persecuted Christians

PAGAN ROME had conquered the world. The emperors of Rome claimed the right to rule in all things, human and divine. The religion of Rome and the gods of Rome were viewed in a legal sense as national and superior to all others. Rome allowed the conquered nations to maintain the worship of their own national gods upon application for legal recognition among the gods of Rome; but the religion of every conquered nation was held subordinate (if admitted) to the superior religion of Rome. No religion of a conquered nation was ever admitted and legally established, even as a subordinate religion, unless its adherents and applicants were willing to swear allegiance to the religion and gods of

Rome as being superior to their own. Rome said, We will grant freedom to all nations to worship their gods in their own way, provided they will also recognize and worship our gods as superior gods. Any failure to recognize the Roman gods was regarded by the Roman government as an act of "high treason."

Consequently, the Christians who recognized only one God as supreme and one Lord as their Saviour, and refused to worship the gods of Rome on the ground that the state had no right to interfere with men's relations with God, were accused by the Roman government of being "irreverent to the Cæsars, and enemies of the Cæsars and of the Roman people," and therefore "guilty of high

treason against the Roman Empire." The result was a wholesale slaughter of the Christians by pagan Rome on the charge of high treason. Rome did not call it persecution, but an enforcement of "the Roman law." The chief argument of the Roman officials was that the dignity of the Roman law had to be maintained or the Roman government would fall. But five centuries of this kind of rule proved to be the very means which caused the fall of pagan Rome.

Papal Rome succeeded, and ruled after the same manner for over twelve centuries, and then her own oppressive rule proved to be the means of her humiliation and the loss of her temporal power.

Recently the editor was called upon to assist in the defense of a Sabbatarian who was convicted and fined before a court for working on Sunday on his own farm, in a field behind the forests, three and one-half miles from a public building or public road. This man, who was convicted and fined by the court for Sunday labor, had rested upon the seventh day of the week in harmony with the divine command in the decalogue. The prosecuting attorney-general of the State addressed the jury as follows:—

Gentlemen of the jury, you have taken oath of office to enforce the law. It is not what the accused may believe with reference to the observance of the Sabbath; if the law has fixed a day to be observed by the people of the land, then it is obligatory on the people. . . . It is necessary and proper that the Sunday sabbath should be uniformly observed by the whole community at the same time. Our law has fixed upon the Christian sabbath, or Sunday, as a day

upon which the common avocations of life should be suspended.

You heard it fall from his own lips that he keeps sacred that day that he believes should be observed, and he does not work on that day at all. The law says you can observe that day if you want to, but you must also observe Sunday. The law says if you want to observe Saturday, observe it; and you have a right to. But the statute has seen fit to make the first day of the week the sabbath, and commands that that day be

observed. Observe your Saturday if you want to, but you have got to observe the first day of the week also.

Is not this reasoning according to the logic of pagan Rome when it reasoned thus with the early Chris-

tians: "You can worship Christ, but our law says you must also worship Cæsar"?

The judge, in charging the jury, said: "The Sunday law says that if the accused conscientiously believes in observing and does observe Saturday rather than the first day as the Sabbath, he, as a citizen of the State, is bound by the law to also observe Sunday, and yet is not precluded from observing his own Sabbath." But this was Rome's argument when it persecuted the primitive Christians for refusing to worship Cæsar and the gods of Rome set apart by civil statute.

"I heard my friend say 'persecution,'" continued the attorney-general in his argument to the jury. "I am too happy, too glad, that I am living today to persecute anybody. That old word persecution was used way back yonder. That's got nothing to do with this case, because the law says if he does a certain thing it is a violation of the law." But

The celebrated Lord Chatham, speaking of the members of our first general Congress, gives them this very remarkable testimony:—

"I must declare and vow that in all my reading and observation for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, no nation, or body of men can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia."—"Patriot Preachers," page 302.

Rome did not use the word persecution "way back yonder," when she persecuted the Christians until the streams of Europe flowed crimson with the blood of martyrs. Rome never admitted that she was persecuting anybody. She was simply enforcing the law. Every persecutor pleads the dignity of the law, and the persecuted in his sight are atheists, traitors, and anarchists to religion and to the state.

The struggles for individual freedom and for the free exercise of one's conscience are not wholly over yet, even in America. We boast of our personal rights and liberties in America to worship God according to the dictates of our

own consciences without interference on the part of the state; but in some of our States personal liberty to worship God unmolested, without recognition of the State Sunday laws, is a myth. The dissenter has religious liberty in theory only, hidden away in the seldom-read articles of the Constitution, but in fact and practice it is denied to him. He is granted freedom only when he also is willing to submit to the requirements of the state religion.

After all, in some respects and in some sections of our fair republic, we are not far in advance of pagan Rome in the way we deal with dissenters on religious questions.

C. S. L.

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## The Gospel and the Boycott

NOWHERE in the recorded sermons or instructions of our Lord; nowhere in any of the writings of his disciples or apostles; in short, nowhere between the two covers of the Bible are the people of the Lord instructed or permitted to use the methods of the boycott in promoting the interests of the church. Only once are boycott methods mentioned in the Word of God, and then Inspiration plainly designates the character of the power that adopts that mode of operation. It is that mighty federation of apostasy which finally succeeds in aligning the whole unconverted world against God and his people for the actual culmination of the age-old struggle between love and hate, righteousness and sin. Concerning that boycott we read:—

"And he [a power composed of federated religious organizations] causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads: and that *no man might buy or sell*, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name." Rev. 13:16, 17.

The expression "that no man might buy or sell," designates that movement at once as a boycott. The power which makes use of that weapon is a power that is antagonistic to the true God, antagonistic to the freedom of the people in the worship of the true God, and antagonistic to a class of people who persist in worshipping the true God according to the dictates of their conscience.

Nowhere in the chapter does the revelator speak approvingly of the work of the power that uses the boycott; nowhere in the Bible does God speak approvingly of that mode of operation. It is the weapon of force, of compulsion, and is the very antithesis of the gospel and of the character and work of Christ. It is antichristian in every feature.

In that chapter of Revelation to which we have referred, it is very plainly manifested that the boycott is used to compel men to perform a religious act which is contrary to the dictates of their consciences. If it were not so, there would be no necessity of enforcing its decree in that particular with the penalty of death.





# TEMPERANCE



## Does Prohibition Prohibit? Is Prohibition Right?

W. E. GERALD

WHY is it that we hear the question, "Does prohibition prohibit?" discussed so much, while so little attention is paid to the primary and paramount question, "Is prohibition right?" Such emphasis presupposes that one may judge the righteousness of a cause by its success. Far from it! George Washington and Abraham Lincoln had strong convictions of the righteousness of their cause, and those convictions kept them pressing steadily toward the goal in the face of discouraging prospects and fearful odds.

The temperance forces of this country have become thoroughly awakened to the fact that in the past this question has been dealt with in an ineffectual way. They are now preparing to train their guns on the very citadel of the enemy. They must reach the system at its source: there is no other effectual method.

When we wish to stop the operation of a mill, we shut down the head gate, we cut off the source of its power. The liquor business is a mill whose product is destructive to health and benumbing to the brain. It enfeebles and deranges the whole physical organism, inflames the lower passions, and incites to murder, theft, sensuality, and every other crime. It is constantly producing poverty, degradation, misery, and woe for the individual, the family, and the community. It transforms men into brutes, and affectionate husbands into wife slayers. Is it not therefore time that every normal man and woman should cry out, "Shut the head gates and stop this terrible evil at its very source?"

One might as well ask, "Does a gun shoot?" as to ask, "Does prohibition prohibit?" Of course a gun will shoot if the one who manages it will permit it

to do so. The writer hails from the old Pine Tree State, which has the prohibitory plank incorporated in its fundamental law. Many years ago this gun was loaded, and it has proved a trusty weapon in the hands of many a chief executive. Three years ago a governor was elected who did not believe in using it. He stood the old gun up in the corner, so to speak, and let it get rusty. But when he would not fire the gun, the people "fired" him.

Last summer the writer visited nearly all the large towns and cities of the State of Maine, and was pleased to note the complete absence of the open sale of liquor. A matter worthy of censure is the continual effort of a great political party to tear down Maine's great bulwark of liberty, and to substitute license for prohibition. The Bible, reason, instinct, and the consensus of opinion of the majority of educated and civilized people, prove that prohibition is the only right attitude of the government toward this evil. This ruinous business must be dealt with in just the same way as the associated and kindred evils of murder, theft, white slavery, and the opium traffic. Uncompromising warfare must be waged against it as long as it continues to exist.

May the federal government soon use its great power to free the people from the death grip of the liquor traffic. Then the problem will be instantly solved for our city and State governments. May God hasten the day when the thunders of the prohibitory laws, saying "Thou shalt not" to the distiller, the brewer, and the saloon keeper, shall sound in concert from both State and federal constitutions in our fair land.

*South Lancaster, Mass.*

## The Nation's Economic Burden

Statement of Hon. Richmond P. Hobson, a Representative  
in Congress From the State of Alabama

OUR position before the House of Representatives will be that, irrespective of the individual ideas of members of Congress on the merits of the case, Congress ought to submit it to the people of the several States, a majority of those people in due form having requested to be allowed to pass upon it. At this juncture I desire to call the attention of the chairman and members of the committee to this consideration without arguing it: This is an organic question; it deals with life and death, with liberty, with the survival of individuals, of groups, of nations, of empires, and of civilization: and we submit that the true treatment of an organic disease must be an organic treatment; that Congress cannot treat this question comprehensively and completely, and that it is only the people in the several States who can apply the organic treatment. We submit that Congress should at the earliest moment wash its hands of this question, and put it where it can no longer disturb the political forces in the matter of the election of members of Congress to the lower or upper house; that both those houses should recognize the propriety of permitting the people in the several States to apply this organic treatment, and then allow the forces for and against it to go out into the several States and settle it among the people themselves. So if you want to solve this question, there is only one way to solve it right; and it will never be solved until we do solve it in the right way. We ought to submit this to the States for ratification.

Now, I desire to call attention furthermore to the fact that this would not curtail the rights of the States in dealing with the question, except in the matter of sale. Any act of any State in the line of curtailing the poisoning of its people is left untouched. The final adoption of this measure by the several States

would not prevent independent State action along lines of temperance and prohibition. It would not invade the right of the States except in so far as the States would go counter to the principle of stopping the sale. Any State, any county, any town, any home, and any individual would be left unrestrained except in the matter of sale. I will not read over the provisions of the measure, assuming that the gentlemen of the committee are familiar with them, but I desire to call attention to the fact that it deals only with the question of sale; it has nothing to do with the question of use nor anything that deals with use. . . .

But careful investigations, substantial, systematic, and scientific, indicate that over two thirds of the drinkers began drinking and had contracted the habit before they were twenty-one years of age, that nearly one third contracted the habit before they were sixteen years of age, and that actually seven per cent contracted the habit before they were twelve years of age.

Now, another analysis: Who is it that teaches the boy to drink? It is not the drinker. There would be very few men base enough, though they drink themselves, to teach boys to drink. It is done only by those whose business is developed and expanded by the development of the appetite in the boy, so that when he grows up as a drinking man they can get the profit. That is what is done. It is done by the organized liquor interests, and they do it systematically. You go into any city in the country and you will see how it is done. Now then, the moment you kill the liquor interest of America, the organized liquor business, you stop the debauching of the youth. In other words, the federal government kills the monster. It is not undertaking to affect the old people; but the moment you kill this monster, the moment you

destroy the liquor interest of America, it gives the boy a chance to grow up sober; then the next generation will be sober, and that is the organic cure.

Now, I submit it as a universal proposition that if you are not engaged in the liquor business and do not get profits from it, you are not going to oppose that general proposition. You may drink yourself, but you do not want your boy to drink, and you do not want your neighbor's boy to grow up a drunkard. So good men, whether they drink or not, are going to support this measure. Only those who get profit by poisoning and debauching their fellow men, and particularly the boys,—that is, by debauching the youth during the period when they are entitled to protection,—only those, in the last analysis, when we come down to the final struggle in the several States among the people themselves, will oppose it. There is where it will hinge. Good men, whether they drink or not, will be with us. I do not hesitate to say, if you will grant us this appeal, if you will grant our request, our earnest request, that it is in accord with all the fundamental principles in protecting the public prosperity, that it will relieve us of this enormous economic burden, and

that it is in keeping with the protection of the public health. Most of disease is due largely to this cause. More than half of all the consumption, more than half of all the pneumonia, and so on—I will not elaborate—are due to this cause. It is in keeping with the protection of our institutions. It is the degenerate vote that has in the past overwhelmed the liberties of free people. It is the degenerate vote in our big cities that is a menace to our institutions. The systematic debauching of a people has always attended their decline and final downfall. . . .

The right of our children to be well born is a sacred right. The feeble-minded, the epileptic, the idiotic, the insane, are chiefly the results of the violation of this right before birth; that is, the right of children to be born in a home, to have parental protection and care, and the right of children to be protected in their tender years of infancy, childhood, boyhood, and youth. It is in accord with all those principles that are at the foundation of government; and we do not hesitate to make a tentative promise, founded upon these laws of nature, that, if this treatment is applied, we shall get the cure.

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## The Liquor Business and the Government

Statement of Mrs. F. E. Beauchamp, President of  
the W. C. T. U. of Kentucky

WE have a condition not only in the State of Kentucky, but I have visited a number of other States and find the same conditions exist there, in which the liquor traffic has lifted its hands against the life of the government. I would not appeal to you at this time to pass a prohibitory law for the sake of the broken-hearted wives and mothers of this nation, although I am sure pictures could be set before you that would move you, even with all your self-control, to tears of pity; I would not appeal to you for the sake of the boys who are being

wrecked, so far as the boys are concerned; I would not appeal to you for the poor drunkards who stagger along our streets. You might say that was an individual question.

But I do appeal to you as lawmakers to enact a law that will protect the growing citizen from being tempted above that which he is able to stand, and from forming an appetite which undermines his moral character and unfits him for the citizenship which makes and supports this government, and upon whose integrity the government depends.

Already the question of self-government in our cities is a doubtful question. Where the saloon has had full sway, the debauched voter, in too many cases, outnumbers the unpurchasable voter.

The hope of the perpetuity of the American government is in the clean, rural vote, which, as yet, has not been contaminated by the drink habit. . . .

ing the manufacture, sale, or importation, or transportation for sale, of liquor in this country for financial purposes. If you will take the protection of the United States government off the liquor traffic, you will break the power of the liquor traffic to destroy American manhood, and you will break the political power of the liquor traffic in this nation.



SECRETARY OF THE NAVY DANIELS AND HIS CORPS OF ASSISTANTS

The Secretary's order abolishing wine from the officers' mess, thereby making a practically dry navy, was one of the most striking and important developments in the present temperance campaign.

For the sake of that citizenship I ask you to take the protecting arm of the United States government away from this business which is wrecking her citizenship, and to give the States a chance to deal with this problem; and we can only do it by the withdrawal of the United States government from partnership with the liquor traffic; and the most direct way to do that, I believe and those whom I represent believe, would be for you to favorably report this Constitutional amendment forever prohibit-

When the Son of man was on this earth, the devil took him up into a high mountain and said, "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." It would have been a short, direct path to the enthronement of Christ's government on this earth if he had bowed his knee to his satanic majesty, but Jesus Christ knew that for him to bow would mean that he would be in servitude.

We may read that as a matter of history; but, gentlemen, it is not ancient

history, it is history today. There are thousands of young men in this nation today who aspire to political preferment who have that same temptation presented to them. The young men who ought to be at the front in our political life draw back, and say they will not enter, because they will not go through with the things

that are necessary to be done in order to win. . . .

I stand here in behalf of the young manhood of this nation. I appeal to you in their behalf to take the power away from the liquor traffic, to take from it the protection of the United States government.

\*\*\*

## The Nation's Greatest Burden

Statement of Hon. Morris Sheppard, a United States  
Senator From the State of Texas

THE liquor traffic is a permanent menace to the nation. It is the distribution for profit of a habit-producing drug in liquid form,—a seductive poison that breaks down the vital processes of the body; destroys the capacity to resist disease; undermines intelligence, strength, and health; impairs the moral senses; composes the chief source of poverty, insanity, feeble-mindedness, sickness, and crime; and transmits a hereditary taint that seriously handicaps posterity. It is the enemy of virtue, honor, manhood,—all that life holds sacred, all that life holds true. It is diverting from productive channels a sum now approximating two and a quarter billions of dollars every year, representing an ever-growing proportion of the earnings of the people,—a sum which would otherwise be used in building and improving homes; in providing for substantial needs, such as clothing, food, shoes, other comforts and necessities; for education; for benevolent undertakings of all kinds. It is time for the nation to act when more money is being spent every year for intoxicating liquors than for bread or for clothes. Such is the power of the drug that men will vote against it, speak against it, pray against it, and then hold out their trembling hands for the glass that damns. Surely it is a short-sighted statesmanship that would permit \$2,000,000,000 to be worse than wasted each year in the production of misery and vice and shame in order

that the government might obtain a revenue of \$220,000,000. If this republic cannot live without the dirty dollars it obtains from the liquor traffic, dollars stained with the tears of women and children, it ought not to live. There are legitimate sources of revenue yet untouched. There are few direct taxes on luxuries. The income tax has little more than scratched the surface of enormous wealth. There is no federal inheritance tax. Nonalcoholic beverages are untaxed. The national domain, with measureless mineral resources, water powers, forests, and the like, could be managed so as to produce a yearly usufruct of fifty or one hundred millions. The pension roll at last gives promise of decline.

It is safe to say that many millions of the American people desire this amendment submitted. Whether you believe in it or not, give the American people a chance to discuss it and to pass upon it. If it should be rejected, one phase of a great issue will have been definitely settled at least for a long period. If it should be adopted, the blessings of Heaven will be yours for having aided in securing one of the mightiest reforms of time. We believe that we are entitled to have this tremendous question submitted to the American people acting through the American States. All that we ask is the American privilege and the American right of presenting our cause in the proper forum of American Constitutional opinion.



## In the Wake of a Brewer's Truck

A MINISTER sat on his piazza and beheld a very common sight. Down the road came a rumbling and growling "chug-chug," and round the corner, beneath the overhanging branches of trees which cast their shadows upon the beautiful suburban road, came a big red auto-truck, driven by two puffy, bleary-eyed men and loaded to the top with cases of beer. The sunlight shone and sparkled on the bottles, and the beer foamed and flashed, as the truck swayed from side to side on the smooth asphalt pavement. Cumbrously, it toiled on its way with a bulky leer at the church and a sullen rumble of sound at the poor preacher on the parsonage piazza with his hopeless task of uplifting the human race and saving for God his lost and ruined sons. Loudly growling, it passed along in the devil's work, down the sun-kissed, tree-embowered road, past the sumptuous homes, and on to the heat and toil and sin of the great city. No Juggernaut of India nor chariot of Roman conqueror with captives bound to its wheels, carried what that car carried or crushed as that car was to crush. Two little children, who belonged to the Sunday school, stopped at their play and drew back into the yard, and each, with a tiny baby finger in a tiny baby mouth, looked with frightened eyes at the grunting, rumbling truck; while, a little farther on, a tattered, hungry tramp, half rising from the ditch, shook his fist and cursed roundly, and then looked after the truck with a thirsty glare.

### **This, Today; That, Tomorrow**

Queer old world! Just a difference of past and future tense separated babies and tramp. Out of the yard and down the road past church and Sunday school, while the years went by, the childish feet were to wander, and find, at the end, the tramp's place in the ditch by the side of the road; for beer was, first, a healthful tonic, then a stimulant, then a cursed blight, and, finally, the passport to hell.

The truck stopped at a magnificent mansion, and the men carried in a case of the best of all the brands; but the keen-faced, white-haired man on the piazza little thought that the beer wagon had called his son to a life which should end in a pauper's grave. Yet that only son of the house and fortune tried a bottle of the liquor and started on the way to ruin. Like an incarnate fiend, the soothing, sparkling liquor had laid its blighting clutch upon both the brain and fortune of that house till the gorgeous home became a desolate ruin, with crumbling walls and weed-grown lawns.

Away down the road the truck rumbled and growled and stopped at a lonely wayside inn,—a mere road house and nest of criminals, where two thieves were tempting a third to murder. Just as he had refused and was on the point of departing, a waiter came with a bottle from the wagon. The man waited to drink, and booze did what the tempter could not.

### **Blood!**

The next morning news of a most brutal and atrocious murder horrified the little country town; and pale-faced mothers drew their children to their bosoms while they watched the little groups of stern and solemn men gathered here and there. Across the pleasant fields of waving grain and nodding flowers sounded the blood-curdling howl of the dogs and the shouts of officers hunting a drunken wretch, that he, too, might die.

Two sturdy, honest-faced working men were going home, and one said to the other: "John, there is Gaumboyer's truck. Let us stop and get a bottle of his fresh, cool ale."

John demurred, but his friend urged and they stopped. That was the first drink in a long time. Others followed, and, finally, John walked unsteadily homeward.

The months came and went, till several years slipped by. One cold and dreary

winter night John stumbled home to fall in a drunken stupor over the starved body of his dead wife where it lay wrapped in rags on the floor, clasping with its dead arms a little shriveled corpse to its cold bosom. The man sat up in a sudden maze of befuddled thoughts and heard as in a dream the rumble of Gaumboyer's beer truck, growling through the streets. Then John went out, like Judas, and hanged himself and went to his own place.

The truck rolled along the crowded street and stopped in front of a dance hall.

"Ten cases today, Joe," said the anemic attendant. "We have a big dance on tonight, and there are sure to be some swells in attendance who will want the best."

#### Only One More Girl

Late that night two young men held a struggling girl in one of the little drinking rooms under the gallery at the side of the hall and poured the foaming liquor down her throat, while she laughed and choked, and then finished by drinking in a pleased and surprised manner.

"Yes, beer did taste good! Why! How foolishly people did talk about it! So exhilarating! I will wait while you boys open just one more bottle."

A year later she lay dying in the city hospital. Her father's heart was broken; her mother dead of shame and sorrow; and only a strange nurse and a gray-haired physician watched beside the form on the cot.

"Nothing but a child!" said the doctor, "and such a death! God in heaven, how long, how long before the world stops this?"

The pale-faced nurse said nothing, but watched the awful contortions of the pain-racked body, listened to the fearful curses from the bloated lips, and then drew a sheet over the stiffening corpse.

#### But It's All Legal

But why go on with this? The business is legal, and the greatest nation on earth hangs its license in the window of the saloon, and gives the brewer perfect

liberty to make his product and send out his beer wagon. Never mind if there be forgery, murder, and riot coked up in those bottles. At last the truck was empty, and back along the pleasant country road and through the city streets it rolled. The creak and grumble had lessened, as the load grew lighter; and now it rolled along at a merry pace, passing the home of the brewer just as he stepped from his automobile to enter his mansion. The brewer smiled as he thought of the truck and the many dollars it brought in each day. While he smoked his cigar, he planned for more trucks and bigger business and many, many more dollars; for this is a personal-liberty land, and as long as a man can keep within the law, all is well. Some men must be smarter than others, and he was only too glad that he was one of the smarter kind.—*American Advance*.



#### Important to Friends of Prohibition

PRESSURE, presumably by the liquor forces, was recently brought to bear to force a vote in the House on the Hobson Amendment. It is now expected that a rule of action will come from the Committee on Rules, naming an early date in July for the consideration and disposal of the Hobson Amendment. It will be incumbent upon all those who favor eliminating the liquor traffic to send in at once petitions and strong letters to members of Congress, asking for a favorable vote on the proposed amendment. A good, strong, respectful letter to individual members of Congress will do as much as if not more than petition blanks containing a few names. However, the petition work should not be discarded or discouraged. It is to be hoped that our churches and leaders throughout the country will give this matter prompt attention. Church officers and leaders should address their letters and send in their petitions to the members of Congress representing the districts in which the writers live. S. B. HORTON.

# PETITION TO CONGRESS

To the Honorable, the Senate, and House of Representatives  
of the United States:—

*Whereas, (1) Exact scientific research has demonstrated that alcohol is a narcotic poison, destructive and degenerating to the human organism;*

(2) That its distribution as a beverage, or contained in foods, lays a staggering economic burden upon the shoulders of the people;

(3) Lowers to an appalling degree the average standard of character of our citizenship, thereby undermining the public morals and the foundation of free institutions;

(4) Produces widespread crime, pauperism, and insanity, inflicts disease and untimely death upon hundreds of thousands of citizens:

(5) Blights with degeneracy their children unborn, threatening the future integrity and the very life of the nation:

We, the undersigned, adult residents of

State of \_\_\_\_\_, earnestly petition your honorable body to pass Joint Resolution (S. J. Res. 88<sup>1</sup> and H. J. Res. 168<sup>1</sup>), proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing for national prohibition of the liquor traffic.

**TEAR OUT PAGE ALONG THIS LINE**

**NAMES**

## ADDRESSES

This image shows a single page of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is a vertical margin line on the left side, creating a narrow left margin. The paper appears to be from a notebook or a standard ruled sheet. There is no handwriting or printed text on the page.

<sup>1</sup> Introduced by Senator Sheppard, of Texas, and Representative Hobson, of Alabama, Dec. 10, 1913, Sixty-third Congress, second session.

(OVER)

# Full Text of Proposed Amendment to the Constitution

Now Pending in the United States Senate and House of Representatives

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(S. J. Res. 88 and H. J. Res. 168)

---

## JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

*Whereas*, Exact scientific research has demonstrated that alcohol is a narcotic poison, destructive and degenerating to the human organism, and that its distribution as a beverage, or contained in foods, lays a staggering economic burden upon the shoulders of the people, lowers to an appalling degree the average standard of character of our citizenship, thereby undermining the public morals and the foundation of free institutions, produces widespread crime, pauperism, and insanity, inflicts disease and untimely death upon hundreds of thousands of citizens, and blights with degeneracy their children unborn, threatening the future integrity and the very life of the nation; therefore be it —

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two thirds of each house concurring therein)*, That the following amendment of the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several States, as provided by the Constitution: —

### “ARTICLE —.

“Section 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale, of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, and exportation for sale thereof, are forever prohibited.

“Sec. 2. The Congress, or the States within their respective jurisdiction, shall have power to enforce this article by all needful legislation.”

(OVER)

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 Missouri Tract Society (South), 520 West Lynn St., Springfield, Mo.  
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 Nebraska Bible Supply House, 905 North California Ave., Hastings, Nebr.  
 Nevada Mission, Box 172, Mountain View, Cal.  
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 New Hampshire (see N. New England).  
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 New York Tract Society, 317 W. Bloomfield St., Rome, N. Y.

New York Tract Society (Western), 8 East Jefferson St., Salamanca, N. Y.  
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 Texas Tract Society, Keene, Tex.  
 Texas Tract Society (South), Box 392, Austin, Tex.  
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